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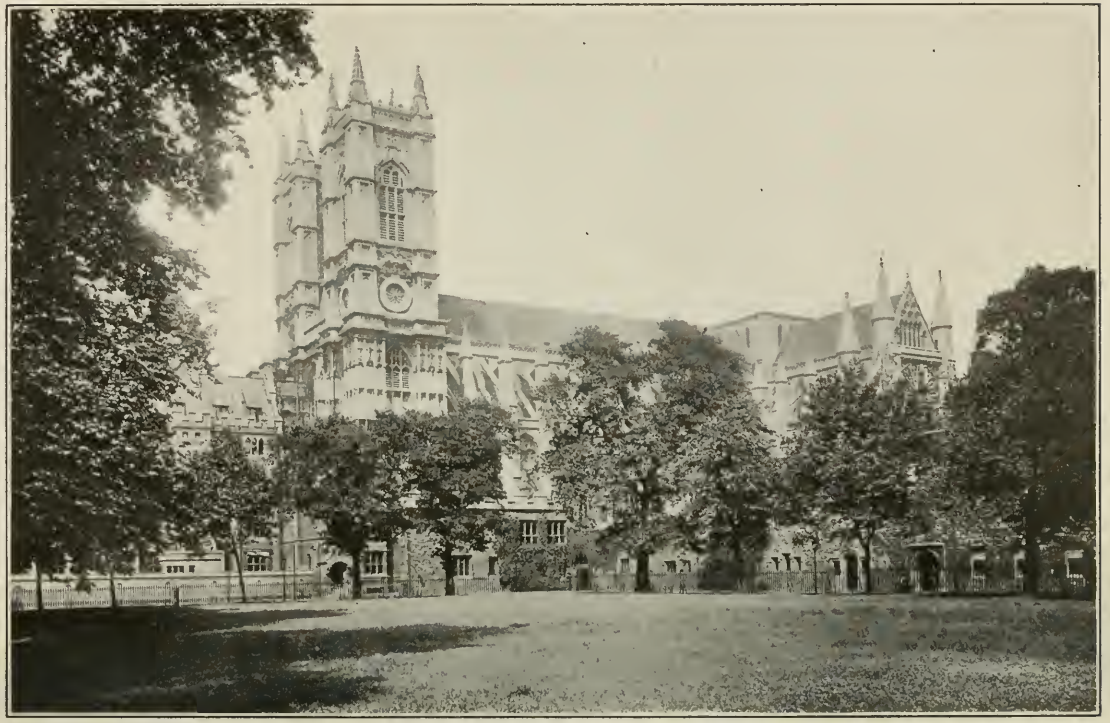
WESTMINSTER ABBEY

"I, John Froissari, priest and chaplain...treasurer and canon of Chimay and Lille in Flanders, set myself to work at my forge to produce new and notable matter relative to the wars between France and England...which excellent materials, through the grace of God, I shall work upon as long as I live: for the more I labour at it the more it delights me."



Westminster Abbey from the Dean's Yard

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

ITS ARCHITECTURE, HISTORY AND MONUMENTS

By HELEN MARSHALL PRATT
Author of "The Cathedral Churches of England"

ILLUSTRATED

VOL. I.

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TO THE MEMORY OF THE BRAVE AND THE FAITHFUL, THE STRONG, THE STEADFAST AND THE TRUE, FROM PALACES OR FROM HALLS OF STATE, FROM CHURCH OR CLOISTER OR FAIR ENGLISH HOME, WHO AT LAST, "THIS PAINFUL LIFE ENDED," HAVE FOUND PEACEFUL SHELTER WITHIN THE WALLS OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY, I DEDICATE THIS BOOK.

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PREFACE

He who attempts to write a book on Westminster Abbey, whatever his preparation, must realize, as his printed pages begin to look him in the face, how much he has left undone in this story of the art and history of a thousand English years.

My aim in preparing this volume has been to combine the most important and interesting facts concerning the founding, the establishment and the architectural features of the Abbey as they are understood today, and to present the conclusions of the most reliable modern archæologists, for the convenient use of readers at home and of students of art and architecture. From the mass of biographical material collected, I have endeavoured to select the most interesting and vital.

In particular, and perhaps distinguishing this book from others, I have endeavoured to comprehend and interpret the conditions of the Confessor's residence of thirty years at the Norman Court; the personality of those who directed his

studies and influenced his life as revealed in the chronicles of England and of Normandy; the spirit in which he came to the throne of his fathers; and why and how he came to build that wonderful Norman Abbey church of Westminster, the design of which is being studied with profound interest by modern archæologists.

In a similar manner, I have attempted to show the spirit of the life and times of the third Henry and his reasons for building the present church: the story of the completion of the nave under Cardinal Langham's legacy, and the progress of the building under Richard II, Henry V and later kings.

If I have seemed to overestimate the influence of English Gothic architecture in the church so often called chiefly French, it is because long study of English Gothic architecture as seen in English cathedrals leads me to place a high value on its splendid original development. Similarly, I place a high estimate on that latest development which we call Perpendicular Gothic as displayed at Westminster in Henry VII's chapel, in which not a trace of foreign influence appears save in the Renaissance tombs of the founder and his family.

The characteristics of the monuments

themselves, from the ancient Roman coffin and the plain effigies of the early Norman abbots to the sculptured glories of the Plantagenet, Tudor and Stuart tombs, have proved a fruitful study for many generations; and the lives of the kings and queens, the poets, statesmen, warriors and courtiers here represented appeal forcibly to the lover of history and romance. But in a volume of limited size, it is obviously impossible to include the entire series of tombs and their occupants. The selection of names includes chiefly those of largest note in English history: those whose genius is universally recognized: those in any way linked with American history: and, in the case of monuments or memorials, those of superior beauty, those which bear noted names and those which, from their very incongruity or absurdity, represent the taste of the period in which they were erected.

The history of Westminster Abbey is almost an epitome of the nation's history and he who will pursue the history of England with the Abbey for a guide, taking up the reigns of the kings from the Confessor onward, or, taking each royal tomb, will trace its story, will find himself at the close of his study, master of a large portion of English history.

My preparation for this work has consisted of long continued daily study of the building itself, the remotest corners of which were rendered accessible through the courtesy of its official guardians: constant acquaintance with the church and its precincts as worshipper and visitor, during years of continuous residence in London, and the study of many books and manuscripts at the British Museum, where much of this volume was written.

Thanks for courtesies received at the Abbey are gratefully tendered to Dean Armitage Robinson: to Rev. R. B. Rackham who revealed the beauties of the old Infirmary: to Canon Beeching, now Dean of Norwich: to Bishop Welldon and the late sub-Dean Duckworth: to Sir Frederick Bridge whose home in the Litlington Tower opened cordially and often to an inquiring guest: to Mrs Murray Smith and Miss Rose Bradley, in memory of their kindness and that of their father the late Dean Bradley, whose affectionate interest in the church over which he presided so prosperously for more than twenty years never failed, and who loved to pay a visit to the Abbot's Pew when night shadows were falling, and sometimes invited a delighted guest to share his good-night to the old Abbey.

To my brother, William O. Pratt, I am much indebted for advice, and for constant assistance in proof-reading. To the Superintendent and assistants of the British Museum Reading-Room: to Mr. Edward R. Smith, Director of the Avery Architectural Library and to assistants in the New York Public Library where some additional study has been pursued, thanks are due for many courtesies rendered.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

VOL. I

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDING OF THE ABBEY:

WHAT IT HAS BEEN: WHAT IT IS

THE great brown stone church situated across the street from the Houses of Parliament is called Westminster Abbey, or, more correctly, Westminster Abbey church, because it was formerly the church of the great Benedictine abbey of St. Peter's at Westminster. It is familiarly known in England as The Abbey.

It is not a cathedral—though it once enjoyed that honour for a period of ten years—since it has no bishop and contains no bishop's chair or *cathedra:* it is not a part of any English diocese: is not subject to the authority of any diocesan governor whatever, whether archbishop, bishop or archdeacon. Even the bishop of London who has his throne at St. Paul's cathedral, has no jurisdiction over the Abbey. The Archbishop of Canterbury has no authority here, save on the single occasion of a coronation. Its ecclesiastical head is the dean who has his chapter of canons and an archdeacon. The dean is appointed by

the king and to him directly owes his authority and to him alone is responsible. He is subject to no outside ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatsoever.

The constitution, government and relative position of the Abbey are therefore, peculiar, almost but not quite unique since St. George's, the King's royal chapel at Windsor, is of the same general character though the establishment is much smaller, and each is therefore called, very fittingly, a Royal Peculiar.

Having thus defined its position, in a manner, negatively, it is of interest to know what the Abbey stands for today, and what steps have led up to its present constitution. Its exceedingly romantic and varied history falls naturally into five sections, including its existence (1) as a Benedictine monastery; (2) as a mitred abbey; (3) as a cathedral church, the seat of a bishop; (4) as a restored monastery under Queen Mary, and (5) as a collegiate church, having unusual privileges and exemptions which entitle it to the name Royal Peculiar.

The first chapter, its history as a monastery, must include the story of its founding.

In the dim early days of the Christian centuries, there was no one to dispute the possession, by the first monks, of the long low

island or gravelly peninsula formed by inlets and divisions of the river Thames and the Tyburn river, known as Thorn Eye or Isle, on account of its dense thickets of thorn. Here the wild ox and red deer from the neighbouring hills grazed peacefully and undisturbed in the "terrible place" (as it is called in Offa's charter) which seemed inaccessible to man, and their bones were found in the earth by workmen laying the foundations of the Victoria tower, and later, in 1868, when making excavations in the Broad Sanctuary in front of the church, for the underground railway. The island lay a little beyond what was then the west gate of London. Here springs of water bubbled up from the earth, and here, attracted no doubt by these springs, by the healthful gravelly soil and by the fishing in the rivers close by, as well as by the natural beauty and seclusion of the place, some early monks founded a small monastery. Early legends tell us that a temple of Apollo once stood here and was destroyed by an earthquake in 154 A. D., and that the first monastery was founded by a British king, Lucius, himself a myth, the reputed founder also of Glastonbury, Gloucester and Dover abbeys. From the mass of traditions and legends some little

grains of truth may be extracted, no doubt, but in general, it is safe to say that almost nothing is certainly known of these early centuries.

The earliest historian of the Abbey history is Sulcard, a Norman monk of the Conqueror's time (1066-1087), brought over from the abbey of Bernay by the King. He lived so near to the time of Edward the Confessor's refounding and building at Westminster at a period when all the early traditions of its establishment would naturally be well known and correctly estimated by many, that considerable confidence is placed in his writings.

The honour of founding the earliest church on Thorney Isle, Sulcard gives to a wealthy Christian citizen of London whom he does not name: who, with his wife, was inspired and encouraged by King Ethelbert, founder of St. Paul's. Sulcard calls him "a certain citizen" *(quidam civium urbis non infimus);* but some one in copying Sulcard's manuscript scribbled the name *Sebert* on the margin, and later it became incorporated with the text, and the Christian citizen, Sebert, and his wife were thereafter named, at least for some time, as the founders of the original Westminster Abbey. Sulcard tells us that they lived to see the building completed

and consecrated, and that when they died they were buried before the high altar. He adds that the church stood neglected from Ethelbert to Offa, whose charter, dated 785 (now considered spurious), grants new lands to the monks.

The Abbey thus founded was named the Westminster in order to distinguish it from the foundation in the east of London which we call St. Paul's, and which was the Eastminster. The founding, according to Sulcard, was in the time of Bishop Mellitus who was consecrated to St. Paul's in 604; thus making the two foundations of nearly the same date, as the monks of St. Peter desired.

Ailred, Abbot of Rivaulx, writing the Confessor's life in 1163, attributes the founding to Sebert, king of the East Saxons, who died in 616, and his wife, Ethelgoda: Gervase of Canterbury gives the same origin, but adds, "at the entreaty of Mellitus, Bishop of London." Ralph of Diceto also uses the King's name as founder, and it is true that a tomb called that of King Sebert has always been shown in the Abbey and exists there today: Malmesbury, using the same tradition, adds that it was founded by the urgent request of St. Peter himself. Says *The Liber Regius*: "Sebert, the King being baptized by St. Au-

gustine, in the place where stood a temple dedicated to Apollo, on the west side of London called Thorney, erected a church in honour of God and St. Peter and requested of Mellitus, Bishop of London, to dedicate it."

All these nearly contemporary chroniclers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries may be grouped together. But over against these statements must be placed the overwhelming fact that the Venerable Bede (673-735), writing his invaluable Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain in 731, and including in his account of London every foundation then known, describes St. Paul's, but makes no mention whatever of a church of St. Peter, as he most certainly would have done had such a foundation existed. Much might be added, but not, I think, to edification, to these various legends and traditions concerning the founding of the Abbey.

Camden tells us that Canute (1016-1035), the King, attracted by "the sweet loveliness of the isle," built here a royal palace, and was deeply interested in the monastery the society of whose abbot, Woolnoth, was especially pleasing to him. The island he describes as 1410 feet long and 1110 feet wide.

It must here be mentioned as a matter

Tomb of King Sebert

of interest, and as adding some support to the story which attributes the founding to an early date, the overthrow of the church to the persecutions under Diocletian, and its refounding as a temple of Apollo, that recent excavations beneath Edward the Confessor's chapel, by Dean Armitage Robinson, disclosed a layer of Roman tiles on the apse foundation, and fragments of a Roman roof-tile having flanged sides.* "It is evident," writes the dean, "that there must once have been an important Roman building on the site."

Coming down to reliable history which must begin with the fact that a monastery probably founded after Bede's time, not far from 740, had long existed, in some sort, on this spot, we arrive at the time (1042-6), when Edward the Confessor being absolved from a vow made while he was in exile, to undertake a pilgrimage to Rome, founded or rather refounded here a monastery in the name of St. Peter and built a noble church and ample monastic offices.

The church was dedicated in 1065, the first time that a church had been dedicated here by human hands, it was said. But the legend of its consecration by St. Peter himself, must always be told in this con-

**Archæologia 62: 99.*

nection. On the evening before the day appointed for its first consecration in the early seventh century, a fisherman of Lambeth met on the shore a stranger who offered him meet reward if he would ferry him over to the then wild island of Thorney. Arriving there, he entered the church, when

"Lo! On a sudden, all the pile is bright,
Nave, choir and transept glorified with light;
While tongues of fire on coign and carving play
And Heavenly odors fair,
Come streaming with the floods of glory in,
And carols float along the happy air,
As if the reign of joy did then begin."*

Angels and archangels were seen descending a ladder let down from heaven and strains of exquisite music ravished the senses of the Lambeth fisherman, the only witness of the miracle.

When the stranger returned to the Lambeth shore, the fisherman asked for his reward and was bidden to cast his net in the river, when he brought up a miraculous draught of salmon, "which," said the stranger, "should never fail in Lambeth so long as a tithe of them was offered to the church in Thorney Isle." He bade the fisherman take one to Mellitus the Bishop of London, "and tell him how he had carried in his boat the fisher of the Galilean lake and had seen the church consecrated

*Matthew Arnold.

by St. Peter and all the glorious hierarchy of heaven." Which when Bishop Mellitus heard, he hastened to the church and there found twelve consecration crosses on the walls, the letters of the alphabet written twice on the sanded pavement, and the traces of chrism and the droppings of the angelic tapers.

From the year 1065, when Edward the Confessor's church was dedicated, the abbot and his monks were comfortably housed and cared for in the great cloister with its dormitory, refectory and kitchens, its chapter house and scriptorium, its orchards and gardens and vineyard, its mill, granaries, and almonry, its sanctuary of refuge for the distressed, and all that was necessary for the complete equipment of a mediæval monastery. In the midst of all the monastic buildings rose the stately Abbey church, the predecessor of that which we see today, for which the monastery existed, in which the voice of prayer and anthem and song at its many altars scarcely ceased from earliest dawn to deepest midnight.

This is the first chapter in the Abbey's long history, a chapter in which we have seen that the monastery must have been in existence as early as the eighth century: was refounded early in the reign of Ed-

ward the Confessor (1042-1066), and furnished with ample and beautiful buildings. As a monastery it continued like hundreds of others in England, for nearly five hundred years.

The second chapter finds the monastery of St. Peter's grown rich and powerful, having possessions in lands all about the vicinity of what we call London today, and in the then far-away counties: its granaries well filled: its gardens and orchards fruitful: its altars fragrant with much incense: its cloisters well peopled with monks and novices, its environment constantly improving as the town increased in wealth and population.

Abbot Lawrence sat in the abbot's chair at Westminster from 1160 to 1176. He had been a learned monk of St. Albans monastery, and had come thence to Westminster. At least two years before his coming, St. Albans had been accorded the honours of a mitred abbey and exemption from episcopal jurisdiction in England, obtained from the pope. In 1154, the Pope at Rome was an Englishman, Adrian IV, the only Englishman who ever sat in St. Peter's chair. His father, late in life had become a monk of St. Albans, a privilege once refused the son on account of his lack of education: and on the appeal

of the St. Albans abbot, who went to Rome with two monks (possibly including the Pope's own father), and by the aid of numerous rich gifts, the Pope had granted St. Albans absolute exemption from diocesan supervision making it subject to Rome alone; and permitted its abbots to wear the mitre, ring and sandals of a bishop and to have his crozier as a badge of office. Pope Adrian died in 1158, and on account of some very natural contentions in the English church concerning the matter, the St. Albans abbot did not actually wear his mitre until Easter, 1163, and in that same year he occupied the highest seat among the English abbots at the great council of Tours.

In 1163, influenced in some degree no doubt, by the exalted position accorded the neighbouring monastery, Abbot Lawrence made successful efforts to secure the canonization of Edward the Confessor, once rejected at Rome; and twelve years later, in 1175 he also secured from Rome for the abbots of St. Peter's, forever, the precious privilege of wearing the episcopal mitre, ring, gloves and sandals, and to bear the crozier, though he himself did not live to use these coveted insignia.

This increase of privilege and, to an extent, of power, introduced no essential

change in the general conduct of the establishment, but it was hereafter known as a mitred abbey, and by reason of its increasing possessions, and the possession of a saint and a shrine, it became one of the most powerful, a position which was often contested by St. Albans.

As a rich and powerful mitred abbey also virtually a royal chapel, since it was within the precincts of the king's palace of Westminster and was closely linked with coronations, parliamentary gatherings, pageants of many sorts and royal funeral obsequies, St. Peter's continued for nearly four hundred years. Kings came and went between 1163 and 1539. Henry II and Becket had their fierce strife and the archbishop's murder astounded Christendom; Richard the Lion-hearted went on his crusade; the bad John shuffled through his inglorious reign and sullenly signed the Great Charter: his better son, Henry III splendidly rebuilt the old Norman church of the Confessor and here found burial and a noble tomb. The strong first Edward, his weak son, and the greater third Edward filled up the century between 1272 and 1377, and left not much beside four royal tombs to their memory in the great abbey church. The last and almost the weakest Plantagenet,

Richard II, the Black Prince's son, assisted well and generously in the completion of the nave building so long as he had power, and left a beautiful tomb for his queen and himself. The House of Lancaster, and its three Henrys, succeeding the Plantagenets, with their French wars, and the long period of the Wars of the Roses, had only incidental connection with the Abbey history, though the fourth Henry died in the Jerusalem Chamber, and Henry V's queen built here a magnificent tomb to his memory. York had its connection with the Abbey in the first queen of its house, Elizabeth Woodville, and the birth of her son, Edward V within the Abbey precincts where she had sought refuge from the enemies of Edward IV; in the pitiful remembrance of her two sons, the murdered Princes of the Tower; and in the unmarked grave of Richard III's unhappy queen in the Sanctuary. With the House of Tudor, Westminster again glows with memories of royalty, in the completion of the nave; of Henry VII's magnificent chapel, and of the noble tomb of his queen and himself and of the learned Lady Margaret his mother.

The second Tudor king begins to write the events in the final history of the Abbey as a monastery. In the last seven years

of his life, when all that was cruel and unlovely and repulsive had displaced all that was excellent in Henry VIII's character, when, eager for the wealth that had gathered around the noble old English monasteries throughout the land, the rich manors, the tithes, the golden shrines of saints with their marvellous store of jewels, he caused the monks to be dispersed, the establishments dissolved and the wealth to be poured into the king's treasure house, he came, in his evil course, to the monastery of St. Peter's and the Confessor's shrine. So early as 1536 he had gained possession of some of its lands, of that which we call St. James Park: of the Abbot's manor house of Neate; of the great estate of Covent (Convent) Garden; of Hyde Park and other broad possessions through bargains with the monks which were greatly in his favour. And he had caused the Confessor's shrine to be torn down, the ornaments and the gold and silver plate to be sold, and the jewels to be taken to his coffers. The revenues, even then, amounted to $350,000 in present values. In 1539, he caused the bereft monastery to be dissolved and the twenty-four monks, all that remained, with Abbot Boston at their head, signed the deed surrendering their abbey and all its posses-

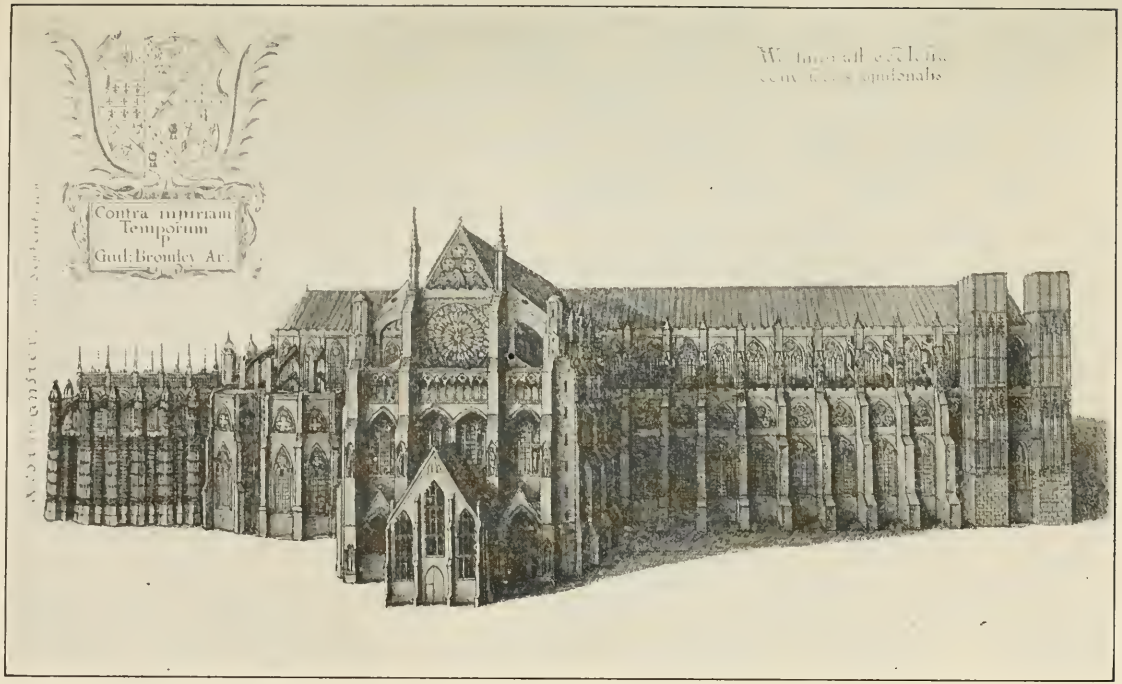
sions to the king. And thus ended the second chapter in the history of the establishment.

The third chapter, from 1540-1550, includes the history of Westminster as a cathedral church. Not a full year had elapsed after its dissolution before the despoiled monastery was refounded, not as a monastery, but as the cathedral church of a new diocese, the diocese of Westminster. For ten years it rightfully bore the name cathedral, but the name continued for some time after the dignity had departed. From the loss of its shrine, its chief glory, from the loss of estates and from its dilapidated and abased condition, it suddenly became a new creature—a cathedral like St. Paul's, under the prosaic diocesan direction of a bishop for the first time in nearly four centuries, but a bishop whose throne was in its own church.

The new diocese carved out of that of London, included all Middlesex county except Fulham parish in which the Bishop of London had his palace. Thomas Thirlby, a gentle old man, was appointed its bishop and the abbot's house given him for a palace; also for his use were given the cloister of the monks and a part of the present Dean's Yard. The former abbot was made dean of the new establishment and removed

from the abbot's house to the Misericord, on the site of what is now called Ashburnham House—belonging to the Westminster School. Five of the old monks were made canons; four of the younger monks became minor canons. The record of the new cathedral chapter begins with 1542, but the bishop had been consecrated in 1540, in Henry VII's new chapel. The fine old tapestries of the Jerusalem Chamber, seized by the king, were bought over by the new bishop and the dean. At this time the House of Commons which had held its sessions in the chapter house, removed to St. Stephen's chapel in the palace of Westminster, and thereafter, and for a long period, the chapter house, fitted up with wainscotted cupboards, was used for a record room.

Henry VIII died in 1547, and Edward VI his young son, reigned in his stead, through his uncle, the Protector Somerset. Many were the changes made in the Abbey by this ardent Puritan Protector. It was said that he proposed to demolish the abbey church and buildings, and in order to appease him, twenty-two tons of good Caen stone from the refectory, lately destroyed by the dean, and other buildings were given the Protector to be used in the erection of the original Somerset House



The Abbey Church in 1654, with Richard II's Porch—from Hollar's Etching

in the Strand. The Dean's Yard and other lands belonging to the abbot, with fourteen manors, were also given this powerful regent, "in the hope that he would be good and gracious to them" and spare the beautiful abbey church.

During the short reign of Edward VI, the Roman Rite, at first adapted by inserting a new section, in the English language, for the ritual preparation of communicants was translated into English and simplified; and in 1550, by order of the King and council, an attempt was made to do away with the rich vestments, altar cloths and the beautiful illuminated missals. A little later, the stall and pulpit cloths and the altar plate of gold and silver that remained were seized and destroyed.

In 1550, the bishopric of Westminster was suppressed and has never been revived. Thirlby passed on to Norwich. The young king Edward VI died in 1553, and the Roman Catholic Queen Mary, his sister, the only child of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon came to the throne. But the bishopric and the cathedral dignity had already gone from Westminster for three years.

The fourth chapter of the Abbey's history as an establishment is the shortest.

During the five years of Mary's reign (1553-1558), the old monastic rule and establishment were revived: the resident clergy dismissed; the Roman mass was now restored by Queen Mary and was celebrated for the first time in many years, in November, 1554, in the presence of Mary and Philip. Later, in the same month, in the stately old Westminster Hall, occurred "the solemn reconciliation of the English church and nation with the see of Rome," so enthusiastically received at the time, but of brief duration. John Howman, of Worcestershire, a ruddy, round-faced affable man from the Forest of Feckenham, the Queen's confessor, was made abbot over thirteen monks, and Dec. 6, 1555, went in solemn procession to the old Abbey in the midst of a great company and was consecrated to his high office.

The zealous and faithful queen, whose revenues were not large, endeavoured to restore the Confessor's shrine and sent her personal jewels to adorn it, but it had been too seriously mutilated for successful restoration. The Confessor's body was disinterred from its place of concealment and the Queen caused a solemn procession "with goodly singing and censing," to be made through the cloister with the holy

relics, and they were reverently deposited in the old shrine.

This was in April, 1557. In August of the following year, Anne of Cleves, the repudiated wife of Henry VIII, died, and by Mary's order her funeral was celebrated in the Abbey with much pomp, the bishop and Feckenham in his mitre attending. Three months later, Queen Mary died, and her burial service was the last ever conducted in the Abbey according to the Roman ritual. The story of the restored monastery concludes with the life of Queen Mary. The monks and their abbot departed, never to return, so far as we can see.

When the powerful Queen Elizabeth, Mary's sister, the child of Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII came to the throne in 1558, the monastery was displaced, as has been said; all the stone altars of the church were destroyed and the establishment, the furnishing and vestments collected with such reverent care and devotion by the late queen vanished from the place. The establishment was now once more and finally refounded with the title The Collegiate Church of St. Peter at Westminster, which is its official title today, the charter being dated in 1560.* For nearly

*A curious discovery has recently been made by

a year after the dissolution there was neither dean nor abbot at Westminster.

The new official staff in this fifth chapter of the Abbey history included a dean and twelve prebendaries: and the English prayer book was revised: the altars in Henry VII's chapel torn down and their stones heaped upon Queen Mary's grave in the north aisle. The services which were now inaugurated, however, differed little, in their frequency and seasons, from those of the monastic establishment, the prebends rising for morning service at six o'clock.

The Westminster School, having early and intimate connection with the monastery and church for centuries, was now, in 1560 founded or more properly refounded, and a part of the monks' dormitory was adapted for a school-room. In 1563, the queen rode in state to a service with sermon at the Abbey, entering at the north transept door, going out by way of the south transept to open her second Parliament in the Painted Chamber of the old palace across the way.

Many vicissitudes but no radical

some members of the chapter at Westminster, from which it appears that these charters were never signed by the Queen, though she had intended to sign them. This may give rise to interesting developments.

changes have occurred in the establishment of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter at Westminster, since the days of its refounding by Queen Elizabeth. It stands today as a collegiate church, with the proud distinction of a Royal Peculiar, under the direct patronage of the reigning sovereign and is still exempt from all episcopal jurisdiction. The dean is still its chief officer, lives in the old home of the abbots in the cloister, and is responsible only to the sovereign who appoints him. The chapter meets in the Jerusalem Chamber.

Each of the five chapters of its history, so briefly sketched here, might easily be expanded to fill a volume of no inconsiderable size. Indeed, the subject is well nigh inexhaustible since nearly all the important changes in the English Church and State have touched, at some point, on our Abbey's history. If no direct material changes in fabric or government are to be recorded of any particular period, we are certain to find in some aisle or chapel, the tombs of those whose names were vitally important to the nation at that time, and it may be said truthfully that the history of the Abbey, since the Confessor's time, is almost an epitome of English history.

CHAPTER II

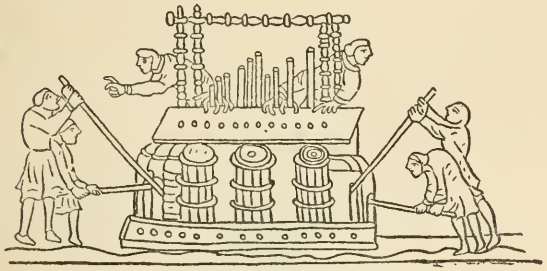
THE SAXON CHURCH — THE NORMAN CHURCH OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

"How amiable are Thy tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts"

THE story of the building of the Westminster abbey church carries us far back in English history into the dark, forgotten days of the Saxon monastery, probably founded, as we have seen, about the year 740. The earliest church of this Saxon monastery was presumably simple and unpretending: its monks lived in log huts, we are told, and the church structure could hardly have been luxurious. It would be as rich in equipment, in furnishings, vestments and decorations as was possible at the period since the tradition that the best was to be devoted to the church was no less forceful then than at a later period in ecclesiastical history. But all that is to be said concerning this church lies wholly within the domain of tradition and legend.

The later Saxon church which Edward the Confessor found standing here in 1042, when he was made king of Eng-

land, is also little known to us. It was evidently of considerable size since it contained a famous organ so large that



A MEDIÆVAL CHURCH ORGAN

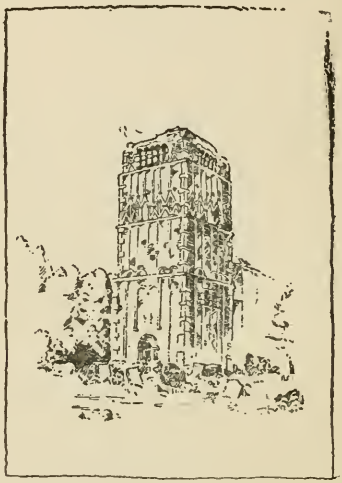
seventy strong men were required to keep its bellows in action, *"multo et sudore madentes,"* and a contemporary poem describes its vigourous action.*

That the church was in a fair state of repair at this time is evident, since a part was left standing to be used by the monks while the new Norman church was in progress. There was also a second Saxon church here, St. Margaret's, on the site of the present cloister, which the Confessor caused to be pulled down and another erected in its stead near the north transept, later rebuilt as we see it today.

While nothing is known of the particular Saxon church which preceded West-

*"*Et rugiat pleno capsa referta sinu,*
Solo quadragintas quae sustinet ordine musas."

minster Abbey, the land was rich in other Saxon churches, very many portions of which remain today and exhibit strong masonry, noble towers, well-built and stately, as at Earl's Barton: good ornament, as the balusters at St. Albans, at Jarrow and



EARL'S BARTON TOWER—SAXON

Monks' Wearmouth; and dignified if not ample proportions. In Norfolk alone, there were 243 churches, so early as 1086 and in Suffolk, 364, a large number of which must have been built in the Saxon manner.

The Norman church of Edward the Confessor (1050-1065), which preceded

the present Early English structure was a stately, imposing stone building, scarcely less splendid (at least in proportion and design), than the present Abbey, and entirely unlike any heretofore existing in England. As the first Norman church in the country, it marked a new era in the history of ecclesiastical architecture and attracted attention and imitation throughout the land.* And while the architecture of this early period compared with the richly ornamented structures of the later Norman appears plain and almost rude, yet to erect a large stone church and the buildings necessary to a monastic establishment, on a new design, and within fifteen years, was a notable and hitherto unparalleled achievement in the history of English architecture.

The history of the building by the last Saxon and, in a very real sense (since his mother was Norman and he was reared in Normandy)—the first Norman king, reads like a chronicle of a mediaeval romance. And in order to comprehend what Westminster Abbey stands for today, and by what steps it has attained its

*Matthew of Paris writes of "the church which the King constructed in the new manner of composition from which many of those afterwards constructing churches taking example, had imitated it in costly expenditure."

present state, we should know something more than the mere facts of its inception and completion: something more than how the stones were laid, the arches reared, the columns carved and the aisles vaulted. Something should be learned of the founder's personality and history, his friends, his education, his environment, his ideals.

In a contemporary life of Edward the Confessor, Harleian Mss., we read that "The devout king destined to God that place, both for that it was near unto the famous and wealthy city of London and also had a pleasant situation amongst fruitful fields lying round about it, with the principal river running hard by, bringing in from all parts of the world, great variety of wares and merchandise of all sorts to the city adjoining; but chiefly for the love of the Chief Apostle, whom he reverenced with a special and singular affection."

The name of Edward the Confessor is indissolubly connected with Westminster Abbey, for not only did he build and re-establish the ravaged monastery and supply the monks with noble buildings, but his tomb and shrine, and the story of his canonization, miracles and translation have served for centuries to keep his memory fresh in the minds of English people, and indeed, of Christendom.

In order to comprehend the full meaning, one might almost say the mystery of Westminster Abbey, we must retrace our steps to the year 1002. In that troubled period of English history, when the Danes were harrying the land, burning, pillaging, slaughtering, King Ethelred the Unready, son of the peaceful Edgar, having again and again bought off the fierce foe whom he lacked power to conquer, endeavoured to strengthen himself by an alliance with the powerful Dukes of Normandy, and won in marriage the beautiful Emma, sister of the reigning Duke, Richard the Good, and in 1004, Queen Emma gave birth to the Prince, who ever after his canonization in 1163, was known as Edward the Confessor. By this linking of England with Normandy, the road was first opened to the English territory, a road which William the Conqueror, grandson of Richard the Good, travelled with conspicuous success about a half century later.*

In 1013, when Edward was but nine years old, the country being still harassed and nearly conquered by the Danes, King Ethelred sent his queen and their two sons,

*It must be stated, however, that so early as the fourth century emigrants from Wales had come to Brittany and that there was frequent intercourse between the churches of England and those of Brittany during the fifth and sixth centuries.

Edward and Alfred, to the Norman court, to the kindly protection and guardianship of the queen's brother, Duke Richard. Four years later, in 1017, soon after the death of Ethelred, Queen Emma married King Canute and returned to England: but her sons remained in Normandy. Alfred, invited to visit England in 1036, was cruelly murdered at the instigation of Earl Godwin: Edward, in 1042, after nearly thirty years of Norman life, was summoned to England as its king. To this long period of his life in Normandy, and not to the brief space of his early life in England, we must look for those influences which formed his character.

At his uncle's court in Rouen, far from being in painful exile, he was a favoured guest and his education provided for in the most liberal manner. He seems to have been sent early to the noble abbey of Jumièges on the Seine, not far from Rouen, of which the Norman dukes had ever been generous patrons, renowned for centuries, for its schools of learning. While the wealthy Norman nobles could find no choicer place for the education of their sons, the poor were also received here and generously cared for.* Here,

*At Jumièges, "the ancient sanctuary of religion and learning," it was the custom to pray especially for those who had given books to the monastic library.

in the society of learned monks who were devoted with singular affection to their beautiful monastery, young Edward, at an impressionable age, received that conventual training which so powerfully influenced his after life and developed those qualities which fitted him rather for the cloister than for the throne. In a French

THE NORMAN CHURCH FROM THE BAYEAUX TAPESTRY

(The hand of God indicates to the funeral procession which follows, the place where the Confessor is to be buried)

poem of the period* he tells us that his life was greatly influenced by a monk of remarkable piety. Theodoric of Mathonville was at this time, in charge of the novices at Jumièges. Vitalis describes him with enthusiasm as well-versed in Scripture, zealous in forming the character of the novices, deservedly beloved by his superiors and all the convent, and records that his sweet voice, his courteous manners,

**Roman de Rou.*

his vigils and fastings deeply impressed the community and that "both by words and works he pointed out the way of true religion to those over whom he was set in the school of Christ." And it may well have been this Theodoric to whom the Confessor was so deeply indebted.*

In order to understand the Confessor's passion for the church, it is necessary, also, to understand the religious sentiment which prevailed in Normandy at this period. Rollo the Viking with his wild horde had swept down over the north land of that which we today call France, to pillage and destroy, a little more than a century before Edward came to Normandy. He was soon after converted and baptized, and straightway began to repair the many injuries which he had in-

*It is a curious and interesting story recorded by Norman chroniclers that at this abbey of Jumièges Edward first received the idea of giving the English kingdom, if he should ever receive it, to the Dukes of Normandy. Tablets on the abbey walls recited at length the praises of Richard and other Norman nobles who had contributed munificently to the building and support of the monastery: and it is said that these were constantly impressed on the English prince's mind by the monks and aroused in him a feeling of deep gratitude to those who had so generously cared for him, in court and cloister, during his years of exile, so that it seemed to him almost his first duty to bequeath the English throne to the young William, who was sixteen years of age when Edward came to his throne.

flicted on churches, to rebuild, refound and build anew. Rollo's immediate successors, the dukes of Normandy, continued, in the same spirit, to cherish and encourage the ecclesiastical welfare of the new land, won after hard fighting. In the early years of the eleventh century, a fervent zeal for church building and for founding monasteries spread throughout Normandy. The long-dreaded year 1000, predicted as that in which the world should come to an end, had passed safely away and a wholesome desire for ensuring their spiritual welfare no doubt influenced many of the church builders of the period. The monastery expressed, to the Norman, the highest ideal of religious life: and when to the monastery was attached a secular school, the union of religion and education was so highly esteemed that "it was almost as respectable to be a monk as to be a soldier: and a Norman noble of that age thought that his estate lacked its chief ornament if he failed to plant a colony of monks in some corner of his possessions." A great number of monasteries were thus founded in the eleventh century, and all along the Seine, from Rouen to the English Channel, there was almost a continuous series of such establishments.

The Court of Richard the Good to

which the young Edward had come in 1013, was one of the most powerful in France. The Duke himself was a gentle, knightly man distinguished for his kindness and courtesy: and must have exercised a powerful influence on the character of his young nephew. He would have none about him but gentlemen.*

He was a friend to the poor, a father to the monks. He devoted much time to the rearing of churches and monasteries and so famous were his love of art and his success in church building that ecclesiastics of such high degree as bishops and abbots came to consult him even from distant Greece and Armenia, and to see his churches. In 1020, when the Confessor was a lad of sixteen, the Duke began to build the stately church of Mont St. Michel: he rebuilt the cathedral church of Rouen in which Rollo had been baptized: St. Ouen and St. Michael's in the same city were under his beneficiary care: Fécamp, which his father had founded and where he lay buried, the Duke augmented

*"Gentil furent le capelain,
Gentil furent li Seneschal,
Gentil furent le Mareschal,
Gentil furent Despensier.
Li Chamberlene li Ussier,
Furent tuit noble chevalier."
(Roman de Rou.)

and protected and here he often resorted, sometimes alone, passing whole nights in prayer, sometimes with his sons, and no doubt his nephew, and with them waited humbly on the monks at dinner. Here he repaired the last year of his life and here he died and was buried. He restored the abbey of Fontenelles, now called St. Wandrille: and Cerisy-la-Forêt was under his protection: he gave largely to the rebuilding of Chartres. But Jumièges was perhaps, the first care of the Norman dukes. The wife of Richard the Good, Judith of Brittany, was equally interested with her husband, in ecclesiastical establishments and had herself founded a great abbey for Benedictines at Bernay.

In the atmosphere of such a court, the English prince would naturally become imbued with the sentiments which controlled the hearts of his powerful relatives. As a man of naturally fine tastes, of deep religious feeling and of learning, he must have become interested in the architecture of the many churches then rising in Normandy: and particularly, during the last few years of his life there, in the Abbey of Jumièges (from which, it is said, his heart was never long absent), then being rebuilt in very stately fashion. Robert of Champert (usually called Robert of Jumiè-

ges), formerly Prior of St. Ouen, a man of conspicuous strength and ability, and a close friend of Edward, had become Abbot of Jumièges in 1037, and almost at once began to rebuild its church. The plan and details of the project which must have been dear to both, would naturally form the subject of frequent consideration between these two.

Soon after, in 1042, while the Jumièges church was still in progress, the exiled prince was summoned to the throne of England, with all his Norman tastes and sympathies, all his Norman learning and training, all his memories of the Norman churches and monasteries which he had seen rising from their foundations or already completed, and was at once thrown into the midst of a people foreign to all his tastes, though his own by birth. All about him were the sturdy Saxon churches of the earlier day. He had promised that he would not surround himself with foreigners, but he soon decided to have with him, "to guide him in his councils," his old friend, Robert of Jumièges, whom he made Bishop of London, and, a few years later in 1051 Archbishop of Canterbury: and it was said that whatever Robert thought, even if he thought a black crow white, so did the king think. From 1043 to 1052,

he lived as the intimate friend and adviser of the newly-crowned king.*

Not long after his coming to England, the new king began to contemplate the building of a church in honour of St. Peter: perhaps, finding himself in a position of power for the first time, and his sympathies being warmly church-ward, he desired to emulate the great enterprises with which he had become familiar in the land of his adoption. His palace in London was close by the old Saxon Abbey of St. Peter's: he would naturally be interested in its life. Edwin the abbot, a man of great piety, soon became his intimate friend and the king often sent for him in his private hours. But the reason, usually assigned for his desire to build a new church at this time, is that it was in consequence of a vow that if he were restored to his throne, he would make a pilgrimage to St. Peter's at Rome. When he would fulfill his vow, his barons strenuously objected. They set forth the perils of so great a journey, the mountain passes, the sea, and especially, the danger of leaving

*Robert yearly sent over to Jumièges a part of his revenues: and later, William the Conqueror endowed it with an English estate, the Isle of Helling in Norfolk, which brought a rent of eleven hundred gold crowns: and Abbot Gonthard of Jumièges was William's physician. Robert began to sign as Bishop of London in 1046.

his country to the invasion of enemies. An embassy was accordingly sent to the Pope, and the king was absolved from his vow on condition that he found or else refound a monastery in the name of St. Peter.

While considering how best to meet this condition, and where he should build his church, St. Peter himself is said to have appeared to a saintly hermit named Wulfine, with this message: "The name of the place is Thorney, which once, for the sins of this people, being given to the fury of barbarians, from being rich became poor: from being stately, low: from honourable, it became contemptible. This let the king by his command, repair and make it a house of monks, adorning it with stately towers and endow it with large revenues."*

Obedient to the vision, the new king began to refound the Abbey and to build here a noble church. The actual building seems to have been undertaken in 1050, but the demolition of the old Saxon church must have preceded it since the new church was on the site of the old one, but a little to the east. Only a part of the old church was at first removed, the western bays being retained for the use of the monks dur-

*Ailred's Life of Edward the Confessor, in Twysden's *Scriptores X.*

ing the rebuilding. The King at once made an inventory of all his possessions and devoted the value of one-tenth to the new work, a generous gift when it is remembered that he had remitted the Danegelt, (a tax whereby the Danes had been appeased), which formed a large proportion of an English sovereign's wealth at this time.

"Now he laid the foundations of the church
With large square blocks of grey stone:
Its foundations are deep,
The front towards the east he makes round,
The stones are very strong and hard:
In the centre rises a tower,
And two at the western front,
And fine and large bells he hangs there:
The pillars and entablature
Are rich without and within,
At the bases and the capitals
The work rises grand and royal.
Sculptured are the stones
And storied the windows.
He makes there a cloister
A chapter house in front
Towards the east, vaulted and round."

The monastic buildings seem to have been completed in 1061, and late in the year 1065, the church itself was finished "from the apse to the west front." The King endowed the foundation with many fair villages, including Pershore in Worcestershire, and with rich manors and lands, "so that the place will never know want if things are managed honestly."*

**Roman de Rou.*

The King also granted the Abbey a charter of privilege, and in order to give the charter especial sanctity, sent it to Rome in charge of four ambassadors, Aldred, Archbishop of York: Tostig, son of Earl Godwin: Walter, Bishop of Hereford, and Giso, Bishop of Wells, to obtain the papal Bull of confirmation from Nicholas II.

It is of much interest to note that the credentials included a request that the new church "as a place appropriate for the inauguration of our kings as well as to render it perpetual for the monks of the order of St. Benedict should be subject to no jurisdiction but that of the king." And in response to this request, the Bull issued by the pope "discharged the monastery from all episcopal authority and visitation and also set it apart for a burial ground which may be exempt from the payment of the usual dues; and appointed the king to be the patron of the Abbey."

Thus Westminster has been a Royal Peculiar from the first, and its unusual position in the diocese is as old as the Confessor's time.

The church was complete, as Sulcard, writing soon after, says, "to the very porch," in 1065, and extensive preparations had been made for its dedication on Holy Innocents Day, December 28th. The

The Norman Undercroft in the East Cloister.

King and Queen had prepared very choice and rich gifts: gold and silver plate for the altars, beautiful vestments of silk, some embroidered by the Queen's hand, for the priests, and jewels and many relics, all carefully brought together and arranged by the King's own white hands for the day to which he had eagerly looked forward.

For the convenience of the King and his nobles, the Midwinter Gemot had been appointed to meet at Westminster instead of Gloucester, as had been the custom, and arrangements had been made for splendid festivities in church and palace. But the spirit of the King had been greatly perturbed at this time, by the revolt in Northumbria against the oppressions of Tostig, and he was weighed down with sorrow. In October, we are told, his soul was sick and weary and as the weeks went on, he became very ill. Yet he bravely made a struggle to fulfill his duties: wore his heavy royal robes and his crown, in state on Christmas day, according to custom, and presided at other festivities on the two following days.

On Holy Innocents Day, appointed for the dedication, he could no longer endure his pain and weariness. Feebly he gave directions to Queen Editha and bade his

nobles and all those assembled at his court to proceed to the Abbey and the Queen to take his place in the solemn ceremonies.

A few days later, January 5, 1066, the King breathed his last. "The sound of the workman's hammer had hardly ceased, the voice of the consecrating prelate was hardly hushed into silence before the church of the Apostle was put to the lofty purpose for which it was designed. Before the Christmas festival was over, it beheld the funeral rites of its founder, the coronation rites of his successor. The days of the Holy Season were not yet accomplished the Witan of England had not yet departed to their homes, when the last royal son of Woden was borne to his grave."* The Norman Church, so long the object of his thoughts and prayers, was completed, but the devout king did not live to hear even a single mass celebrated within its walls.

So the church was made ready. What remains today of the stately structure, erected with such care and pains, intended for centuries of usefulness, designed from the finest architectural model of the period? To what part of the present Westminster Abbey shall we go in order to gain some idea of this famous work of a famous English king? It seems scarcely

*Freeman's Norman Conquest.

credible that the answer to this question must be, that, literally, not one stone remains upon another, above ground, of the church itself, though considerable remains of the monastic buildings appear here and there. Choir and nave and vaulted aisle, chapels and altars, lofty towers and sounding bells, storied windows and sculptured pillars and entablature, all have vanished from sight, many centuries ago, as completely as if Thorney Island had never existed. The foundations were deep, says the poem: the square blocks of grey stone, very strong and hard: but they were not too strong to resist the hammers of Henry III's masons. The present church rose where the Norman Church had been, stately and fair, but only slightly reminiscent of the earlier walls. And the only remains of the Confessor's church, down low under the modern altar platform, are the bases of three of the apse pillars, together with a part of the curve of the apse foundation.*

*According to the late Mr. Micklethwaite, whose knowledge of the Abbey surpassed that of any living authority, the remains of the Confessor's building, besides these parts of piers, were: (1) A doorway high up on the south face of the transept; (2) A low archway in the Dark Cloister; (3) Some windows of the dormitory itself and a somewhat rude stone window below; (4) The Undercroft of which

But if we have no remains above ground of the old Norman, we are not without indications as to its general appearance and much of its detail. So far as can be discovered from the measurements of the remaining portions of the monastic buildings, and from the descriptions of the contemporary chroniclers, the church differed little in extent from that of today. Its central line was undoubtedly the same; the eastern arm of the cross was probably narrower, the transept arm was shorter; the width of the nave the same, and the cloister not much different.

That there was a lofty central tower with pinnacles, as at Jumièges and Fécamp, we know both from the Bayeux tapestry and from a description in a Life of the Confessor which was apparently written immediately after his death, possibly in the same year, as it contains no mention of the Norman Conquest, and is dedicated to Queen Edith, who died in 1075. From this we learn also that the church had a

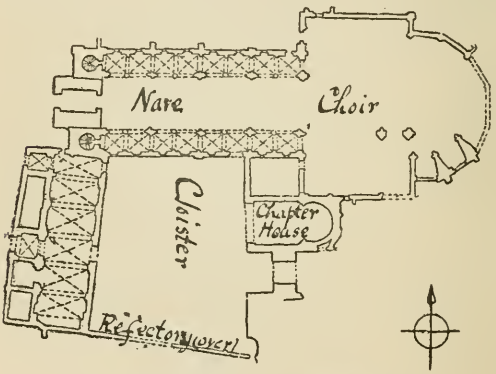
the chapel of the Pyx, the best-known part, is a portion.

In confirmation of the tradition that a Temple of Apollo once occupied this site, it may be stated that several Roman fragments, including a portion of a Roman wall, *in situ;* a fragment of a tile with pattern and some red mortar made with powdered brick were discovered under the nave pavement when the grave of Lord Lawrence was made.

timber roof covered with lead: two noble western towers: a nave with lofty arches: a stone vault, the stones "jointed together in the nicest manner": and "storied windows," perhaps an early example of the use of stained glass in England. The choir was under the lantern: the presbytery had two bays with a rounded apse and an ambulatory. The piers were alternately simply and compound, after the system so freely used at Durham and in numerous other Norman churches of later date: and there seems to have been a series of chapels in both stages of the transept ends, as in the crypt and main story of Canterbury choir and in the triforium and main story of Gloucester. Sculptured ornament was little used but the columns and arches remaining in the oldest part of the cloister today bear traces of *tempera* painting which was freely employed, no doubt, for decoration. The architect evidently depended chiefly upon fine proportions, excellent masonry and painting to produce results.

So much we know concerning the Confessor's church from contemporary description. But I believe we may safely go further than this. The abbey church of St. Peter at Westminster, and the abbey church of St. Peter at Jumièges, built at nearly the same time (Jumièges, 1040-

1058, and Westminster, 1050-1065) by two men, one a king and the other an abbot, bound together in the closest friendship, one depending on the other for counsel, both from the same monastery, these two great churches were probably of nearly, perhaps entirely, the same design and size,* and built on the same general plan. This Jumièges abbot was the intimate companion and advisor of King Edward from about 1044 to 1052: and as



PLAN OF THE ABBEY OF JUMIÈGES

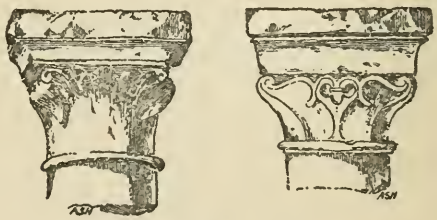
*After careful study of the history of these churches, Westminster and Jumièges, I had arrived at the conclusion that the latter was the prototype of the former, when Dean Robinson's articles on the subject came to hand and I read, "We can hardly doubt that Robert of Jumièges, who was at the Confessor's right hand from 1043 to 1052, helped to determine the plan of the King's own church at Westminster." Later I found that Lethaby had first expressed this opinion.

the two must, with little doubt, have frequently consulted together concerning the building at Jumièges monastery, so dear to both, four years before, in Normandy: and as it was during these years, between 1044 and 1052 that all the planning and the beginning of Westminster Abbey must have taken place: and as it is certain that no builder of a Norman church who could possibly aid the king was at this time living in England, the natural conclusion is that Robert of Jumièges was, to some considerable extent, responsible for the planning of Norman Westminster: and that the noble Jumièges abbey, so prominently in the minds of both king and abbot, furnished its design and inspiration.

Moreover, since in the Norman court at Rouen, Edward had of necessity heard much concerning the details of church building, and was doubtless well informed as to materials, workmen, expenses and other important matters, he would now be well prepared to undertake the supervision of a church building on his own account, especially with the aid and advice of Robert of Jumièges. Archbishop Robert returned to Normandy suddenly and not of his own accord, in 1052; completed the abbey church at Jumièges and the Confessor went over to its consecration in 1058.

Thus he had every opportunity to compare it with his own as yet unfinished building.

An interesting comparison of the stumps of the bases of the Westminster piers and those in a corresponding position at Jumièges has recently been made by Dean Armitage Robinson* and the two sets have been found to agree very closely in size, but to differ slightly in relative distances from each other.† From these and various other architectural facts we may, perhaps, be warranted in saying that in looking at the beautiful ruins of the



CAPITALS FROM JUMIÈGES

Abbey of Jumièges on the Seine, a few miles below Rouen, we are looking at very much the same architecture as that of Norman Westminster.

The Abbey of Jumièges was regarded

*v. *Archæologia 62: 99.*

†Excellent models of these at Westminster, but reduced in size, have been placed in the Norman Undercroft in the cloister for the inspection of visitors.

as remarkably imposing for its time, and its ruins, while not extensive, are sufficient to indicate a stately and beautiful structure. It had a lofty central tower, one entire wall of which remains today in good preservation and tells the story of the whole. It must have been of superior size and strength as well as of superior height, as is the representation of Westminster's central tower in the Bayeux tapestry. A noble pair of western towers also remain at Jumièges, almost entire, hexagonal in their upper stages, lofty, strong, of exquisitely coloured stone, the group of three towers forming a picturesque effect as they rise from a wooded promontory of the Seine which suggests the lofty height and romantic location of Durham cathedral. The Confessor's church, we remember, had also central and western towers, notable for height and dignity. In both churches the nave arches were supported by pillars alternately simple and compound, forming double bays, as at Durham, and the Jumièges capitals were once painted *in tempera,* as in the Westminster cloister and, doubtless, in the church. The triforium arches at Jumièges were of nearly the same width as the main arches and the presbytery had two bays and a rounded apse, as at Westmin-

ster. In both, the short transept arm had galleries at the ends with chapels in two stories. The round arches remaining at Jumièges are nobly proportioned: the outer orders of each pair die into each other on their inner sides. In each bay of the aisles are two small windows, set high, having deeply splayed sills, like those in the Norman cloister of Westminster. The triforium has two large unconnected arches in each bay, each containing three equal, grouped subordinate arches, the central one glazed. No string course appears between the triforium and clerestory and the latter has two unconnected windows in each bay with wide splayed sills but no mouldings. The two western towers, hexagonal in the two upper stages, having a gable between the two, distinctly suggest the famous octagon of Ely, but are of three centuries earlier date. There was a western porch, as at Westminster: the cloister lies south of the nave and the chapter house was in the east walk, as usual in monastic establishments.

"A most surprising structure (Jumièges). It is almost inconceivable how the Normans, the timid and hesitating builders of the first part of the eleventh century, learned all at once to build a monastery not only incomparably superior in design

The Abbey Church of Jumièges

to any contemporary structure in Europe, but vaster in scale than any edifice which had been erected in the West since the days of Constantine. The originality of design and the daring of its execution remain indisputable. It seems as if the Norman builders had all at once become aware of their architectural genius and had created at a breath a new and consistent style. It is one of the most imposing ruins that the Middle Ages has left us."*

As has been said, the Norman church of the Confessor remained standing about two centuries. Very great events which entirely altered the face of English history were witnessed by the old church. The burial of its builder, on the day following his death, was scarcely over, and the sound of his funeral music had scarcely died away when the joyous shouts of the multitude rang out, "We choose thee, O Harold, for lord and king." And again, before the memory of that day had faded away, before that eventful year 1066 had passed on to another Christmas day, Harold had been killed at Hastings, and William the Norman duke came to give thanks for his conquest of England, in this Abbey, and was crowned king, standing to receive

*Porter's Mediæval Architecture: 1: 254

his crown on the grave of the Confessor, whom he had loved from his boyhood.

Following William came his sons, first William Rufus, then Henry Beauclerc: then Stephen, a second Henry, and his son, the bad John, and so passed a century and a half. And the Abbey in 1220, gently aging yet not old, four years after the death of John, witnessed the coronation of his son, Henry III, then in his thirteenth year, and predestined to pull down every stone, large and small, of the church of his crowning, and to rebuild it in a new manner, the Early English Gothic.

The Confessor designed his church to be not only the church of a large monastery, but a place for royal coronations and royal burials as well, a place such as the Norman dukes planned for themselves but on a smaller scale. He doubtless intended, also, to secure, by his building, substantial benefits for his soul and probably he thought of the Abbey as a future centre of national interest.

"His scheme prospered in his own time* and it has survived to ours. His minster still stands, rebuilt in such a guise as to make it the noblest of the noble churches of England. . . . Within its walls a long procession of kings have received the

*Freeman.

crown whose peculiar glory was to be the crown of Edward. . . . And by the minster still stands the palace, no longer, indeed, the dwelling place of Kings, but more than ever the true home of the nation: where the Witan of all England still meet for judgment and for legislation, as they did in the days when Edward wore his crown at that last Midwinter Feast . . . as they did when the first national act done beneath the roof of the newly-hallowed minster was to place the crown, as the gift of the English people, on the brow of the foremost man of English blood and speech."

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY ENGLISH CHURCH OF HENRY III—THE PRESENT BUILDING

THE romance of Westminster Abbey in its founding and its earliest history still continues and is of equal interest during the erection of the building which stands today as the work, in large part, of its second royal benefactor, Henry III, son of King John. Edward the Confessor had built his Norman church in reverent faith, to the glory of God and of St. Peter: Henry III, inspired by the memory of that faith, built to the glory of the Confessor as well. Each of the two royal builders was devout, humble, sincere in his love to the church, giving it the first place in his thoughts to the exclusion of the affairs of the kingdom which urgently demanded the guiding hand of an able sovereign, each coming to his throne at a critical period in the history of England, yet choosing to gratify his personal tastes by church building, instead of loyally serving his people. Henry III like the Confessor, when bereft of his father, was practically deserted

by his mother, Isabella of Angouleme, who speedily married her old lover in France, leaving her son in England to the guardianship appointed for his minority. Like Edward, the third Henry could not honour the memory of his father, the unscrupulous King John.

Yet from his guardians—the prince was but nine years old when he became king—he should have gained excellent preparation for his high dignity. One of these was Hubert de Burgh, the wise justiciar: another, William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, of whom it was said that none other in age, dignity, experience and faithfulness came near him. But the soil was evidently poor: the great Earl lived but three years after accepting his trust, and what was good in the lad's mind was diverted and warped. He grew up extravagant, vain, easily flattered, weak, false to his word, and neither admired nor honoured. It was said that greed was strong in him and that his life was one perpetual clamour for money: yet he seldom spent large sums for his own personal good: it was for the church: for the Queen whose acceptance of the bachelor King ever seemed to him a condescension; or for the Queen's relatives or his own half-brothers. His motto was *"Qui non dat quod habet, non accipiet ille*

quod optat." He was good-natured, affectionate, generous, though often unwisely so, not shrinking from dangers, not cruel, a kind and a faithful husband, a devoted father and brother. All the months of the year may, in a manner, be carved out of an April day," wrote Fuller: "hot, cold, dry, moist, fair, foul weather . . . just the character of this King's life: certain only in uncertainty: sorrowful, successful, in plenty, in penury, in wealth, in want, conquering, conquered."

His religious zeal, the inspiring motive of the rebuilding of the Abbey, seems to have been genuine. He was accustomed to hear three masses a day, and at the Elevation of the Host he usually held the priest's hand and kissed it. He would often spend an entire day in prayer:* he was constantly visiting churches: went often to St. Albans Abbey and no sovereign made so many offerings at the shrine of its martyr. When intending to go on a crusade he remained at the abbey a day and a night, and caused the coffin of St. Alban to be brought out from the shrine and placed before the high altar, where he and his nobles offered prayer for the success and safe return of the crusaders.

*Luard's Preface to the Chronicle of Matthew Paris: Rolls Series, vol. VII, p. xxi.

HENRY III, FROM THE EFFIGY ON HIS TOMB

Even amid the gayeties of his visits to the French court with his queen, Matthew Paris tells us that he found time to see the relics of St. Chapelle, where he prayed and made royal gifts; and being detained on the seacoast at Boulogne on his homeward journey, he visited the Church of St. Mary to see its relics. He was accustomed to carry with him on his journeys costly sacerdotal garments and relics.

The King's love of art and especially his fondness for noble architecture were conspicuous throughout his life, particularly in his later years, and this taste was, no doubt, considerably increased by his marriage with the accomplished and art-loving Eleanor of Provence and by association with the numerous members of her accomplished family who followed her to England. The Queen early gained a powerful influence over the mind and tastes of her husband and while she was, no doubt, responsible for much of the reckless extravagance which so marred their lives, she seems to have been remarkably sympathetic with the King's love of architecture and his plans for rebuilding the Abbey church. Her sister, Margaret, was married to Louis IX, the pious King of France, a great devotee, lover of relics and builder of churches, and the two kingdoms encour-

aged each other in the cultivation and expression of their tastes and religious zeal.

We may also mention the elegant tastes of the King's French half-brothers, William and Aymer de Valence, and Guy de Lusignan, sons of his mother's second marriage in France, and the influence of the Queen's relative, Peter of Savoy, or Aquablanca, whom the King made bishop of Hereford; and if, as is said, this bishop built the beautiful north transept of Hereford cathedral, which contains architectural features strongly suggestive of Westminster Abbey, it may well be that he was one of Henry's advisers in constructing the Abbey church.

The first immediate inspiration to the rebuilding of the Abbey is perhaps to be found in 1220, when the boy king, only thirteen years of age, laid the foundation stone of that Early English chapel at the east end of the church which preceded the present chapel of Henry VII. Matthew of Westminster distinctly says that the King was "the chief instigator of this work, and its founder," though such connection is not easy to understand in one of his tender years. Yet undoubtedly the King would watch the progress of the building as it rose stone by stone, before his boyish

eyes, and his interest in the church and in its devout founder would naturally increase by association with the great Norman church then standing.

In that same year, 1220, occurred the translation of Becket's remains from the crypt at Canterbury to the splendid new chapel and shrine prepared to receive them. This took place with magnificent ceremony, in the midst of a great and notable gathering of nobles and ecclesiastics, including the Papal Legate, and the Archbishop of Rheims, Primate of France. The boy king led the stately procession which bore the relics onward from the cold crypt to the beautiful chapel, brilliant with stained glass and irradiated by the golden shrine studded with gems; and the occasion must have left its impress on the lad.

Apart from these influences, however, it must be remembered that the period between 1220 and 1270 was one of great architectural activity both in England and in France.

Many cathedrals or parts of cathedrals, many churches and chapels were rising in the new Gothic style. The year 1220, which witnessed the beginning of the Lady chapel at Westminster and the completion of Trinity chapel at Canterbury, saw also the be-

ginnings of splendid Salisbury consecrated in 1258. The King was present at the dedication of some altars at Salisbury in 1235, when, with his faithful friend, Hubert de Burgh, he heard mass and made rich offerings, and came again at Christmas of that same year. The King and Queen were present at the consecration in 1258, and again made rich gifts. In the year 1220, Beverly Minster was begun: and at York the King's faithful friend, Archbishop Walter de Grey was building that lovely south transept which struck the keynote for the future rebuilding of the entire minster, and we know, from his itinerary, that the King was several times a guest at York during this period. The loveliest Early English work in England (hence in the world) Northwold's beautiful presbytery at Ely, was rising between 1235 and 1252 and the King came to its consecration. The Nine Altars of Durham was begun in 1242: Rochester's excellent choir was completed in 1227. The graceful Elder Lady chapel at Bristol was finished in 1234; and at Hereford in 1240, Bishop Peter of Savoy is said to have begun the beautiful north transept which has so many points of resemblance to Westminster Abbey. Chester by 1245 had completed her unique chapter house and vestibule, also her Lady

chapel and refectory: a Lady chapel was begun in Gloucester in 1220, and Worcester's graceful choir and Lady chapel a few years later. Southwark's Lady chapel, built by Bishop de la Roche, dates from this period and de Lucy's retrochoir at Winchester was earlier. Yet even more beautiful than any of these was the incomplete, scarcely begun, west end of the St. Albans nave, and its porch, which Abbot John de Cella's loving care breathed into a spiritual grace and delicacy which no later Early English artist attained and which the King in his frequent visits to the old abbey must have seen again and again, and must have wished to imitate. He could find nothing lovelier in France.

Thus the island teemed with architectural industry during all these earlier years of the King's reign. Wherever he made a progress, he would be almost certain to see these new churches rising, and over and over again would his presence be desired at the laying of corner stones or for dedication ceremonies. He would return to his palace of Westminster to see, not a splendid new structure, but the round arches and heavy columns of his Norman church, which were in striking contrast to the airy pointed arches and graceful shafted columns of Salisbury and Ely.

There was great activity in the building of churches of France, at this same period: indeed, it has been called the Golden Age of Gothic architecture. The Papacy was now in the height of its magnificent powers. Dante, Roger Bacon, St. Francis of Assisi, Stephen Langton, Simon de Montfort, Philip Augustus and Louis IX, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, all belong in this wonderful era. Broadening tendencies in more popular forms of government, in intellectual development were everywhere noticeable. Secular schools were increasing, governments being more firmly established, towns richer, ideals higher than heretofore. "The years of the Italian Renaissance scarcely showed greater changes, more rapid development than this thirteenth century." In no field was the change more rapid, more vital, more enduring, than in the field of art, chiefly represented at this era by architecture. The artist of that day told his story in stone, long before the art of painting in oils was practiced. It was, indeed, "one of the most glorious building epochs the world has seen."

Amiens cathedral was begun in 1220, the year of the beginning of the Early English Lady chapel at the Abbey, and its choir was consecrated in 1244; Rheims,

begun in 1211, was dedicated in 1241; both, therefore, were completed as to their choirs at least, before Henry began to rebuild Westminster. Beauvais, begun in 1247, was almost the contemporary of Westminster. Sainte Chapelle, the royal private chapel of the French kings, begun in 1245 and consecrated in 1248 by Henry III's brother-in-law, Louis IX, was the peculiar care of this devout French king. With it must be named the Gothic rebuilding of St. Denis, by the same king, in 1230.* Matthew of Paris, Henry III's contemporary, however, refers to a rivalry between the two kings in the matter of church building and especially of relics: the Sainte Chapelle being built purposely to enshrine the crown of thorns, while Henry secured the relic of the Holy Blood, "in his anxiety to outdo it by this precious relic."

In 1242, Henry III went to France with his queen, and there remained for more than a year, in which time he visited a great number of churches and cathedrals.

*Stanley says that St. Denis, built to contain the tombs of French kings, was Henry's inspiration in the idea of a place of royal sepulture; but this idea, as we have seen, existed long before in the mind of the Confessor, who expressly directed that his church should stand as a place for coronations and royal burials.

But I do not follow those writers who find in French Gothic architecture Henry's greatest influence or even his greatest incentive to the rebuilding of Westminster. And unless we suppose that Salisbury, Ely, Southwell, Winchester, Hereford, Worcester and St. Albans, to mention no more, were all inspired by French influence, I do not see that we need look abroad except, perhaps, for the stately proportions, the plan of the radiating chapels and the window tracery. Those who attribute the Westminster design almost *in toto* to a French architect, lay too much stress, as I think, on the height of the Abbey, which may well have been suggested by the lofty vault which the Confessor probably imitated from that of Jumièges. The Confessor's church had, we remember, an ambulatory, as has the Abbey today. The Westminster apse is five-sided, as at Rheims: but Jumièges had an apse of seven sides. The plan of the radiating chapels at the east was doubtless derived from Rheims and Amiens: like the former, these chapels have thick walls and a passageway within them: and like Amiens, the chapels are polygonal on plan and throughout their height: while the Amiens chapels have

thin walls without a passageway and those of Rheims are circular on plan and to the level of the window openings but are polygonal above.

The traceried and mullioned window openings of the Westminster main arcade and clerestory are undoubtedly of French design, for in England at this period we find lancet windows, singly or in groups, and either heavy plate tracery or none at all. The rose windows in the Westminster transept, as originally built, were also purely French in their design. The short choir of three bays with an apse, at Westminster, is also like that of a French Gothic church of this period, for Salisbury choir has eight bays: little Rochester four, with two double bays in the presbytery: Worcester six, and Ely nine. However, the Westminster plan was not necessarily borrowed from France, for the large Norman churches in England, as we know, often had very long naves, as at St. Albans, Winchester and Peterborough, with short choirs: and again, the king's plan may have been derived from the Norman church which he was pulling down. The same is true of the Westminster transept, which has two aisles (but the lower stage of the west aisle in the south transept

forms the east walk of cloister), a plan not necessarily French, since the same feature appears in the Norman transepts of Ely and Winchester* and at Wells and York.

From the Ely presbytery (1235-1252) the King may have taken the plan of his pillars, for here are the eight banded shafts encircling a heavy central column, as found in all the later work of the King: here also the water-mold bases, a purely English feature, as seen at Westminster. The very wide and beautiful triforium, the most prominent and decorative feature of the interior, might easily have been suggested by that rich triforium of Ely, with its enriched moldings and side shafts: or by the elaborate triforium of Salisbury, which has double containing arches in each bay, subdivided and tracerried: or by de Trumpington's Early English triforium in St. Albans' nave, the plan

*Prof. Moore, whose recent careful volume on The Mediæval Church Architecture of England is of much interest to the student of Gothic architecture, calls attention to the French manner of construction in the Westminster vault in the choir and transept. Instead of starting the ribs in separate voussoirs and then filling in with small stones, the conoid is built up to a considerable height of single blocks, with horizontal beds shaped in the proper form with the rib profiles worked upon them, carrrying the horizontal courses to some distance above the level where the ribs begin to separate and to be formed of voussoirs.

of which is precisely the same. For the rich diaper work of his triforium, Henry would not need to go abroad, since it was to be seen in countless Norman churches in England, at Hereford cathedral in the Norman work, and in the Early English transept: and in Rochester nave, to name no more. For the design of his wall-arcade he would find ample suggestions not only in Norman churches but in de Lucy's retrochoir at Winchester: in the Nine Altars of Durham: in the Ely presbytery: the Elder Lady chapel of Bristol and at Lincoln, to go no farther. The censing angels and other figures so exquisitely wrought in the Westminster arcade, and in the triforium spandrils, early appeared at Lincoln and at Durham. While the exquisite foliage carving of Westminster, frequently referred to a French artist, so deeply undercut as to suggest the later work in the Southwell chapter house, reveals itself in almost perfect loveliness, not only in the Ely presbytery and on Northwold's beautiful tomb, but in the west portal of Salisbury. But lovelier even than this carving at Westminster and at Ely were the few choice capitals and delicate leafy ornaments of Abbot John de Cella's Early English work, a mere fragment now, but at that time, fresh from the

sculptor's hand, in the old abbey church of St. Albans, one of the most beautiful examples of stone carving that ever came from the hand of man.* And again, spandril foliage, in precisely the same form as this of Westminster, is seen in the little church at Stone in Kent, which bears numerous other marks of resemblance to Westminster and was, no doubt, the work of the same English sculptor. As to figure sculpture, Westminster has next to none and has never been rich in this respect, while Rheims and all other contemporary French churches have their doorways lavishly enriched with it; and a French architect of the period, had such been employed at Westminster, would surely have engrafted it on his north portal at Westminster.

In the year 1245, Henry III had been reigning nine and twenty years and was thirty-eight years of age. In this year he began his preparations for the rebuilding of his Abbey church. From a practical standpoint, the period was as unfavourable as possible to the great undertaking. Papal exactions and the extravagance of the magnificent court required vast sums from the people, and numerous and bitter were the complaints of those from whom

*The Fabric Rolls tell us that John of St. Albans was the King's sculptor at this period.

King and Pope, in various ways, exacted revenue. The entire cost of the structure, amounting to two and a half million dollars in present values, was the King's own gift, a royal work and a royal gift, it may be said: but in order to gain it, we are told that the King snatched here and there, on all sides, with desperate eagerness. He granted an annual fair of fifteen days in Tuthill (now Tothill) Fields, close by the Abbey, in 1246, and not only ordered that no other fairs should be held at this time but that all buying and selling elsewhere in London, within shops and without, should cease for that period.* Sums of money due the King in various quarters he made over to the building fund. The citizens of London, under royal pressure, gave two thousand pounds. The vacancy in the abbacy of Westminster, whereby the income of the abbot would be saved to the King, furnished another source of revenue. An office for the receipt of funds was opened and the King eagerly laboured to supply what was needed. An excellent result of this king's exactions (always noted in connection with the rebuilding) was the rise of the House of Commons, "founded as a protest against the King's lavish expenditure on the mighty Abbey which it confronts."

*Holinshed.

It is remarkable that so little information concerning the progress of the building is to be obtained from the chronicles of the day. The King reigned fifty-six years and the Abbey building was in progress almost precisely half of that time. The chroniclers must have known the name of the architect, the source of the design, and all the interesting details which would be so highly valued today: moreover, many of the chroniclers were monks whose interest in the Abbey would be considerable. Yet, save Matthew Paris, who often wrote at the King's command, little is to be learned of that which we most wish to know on this subject, and even he leaves much to be desired.*

As to the architect· if such there was, we are again in darkness. Various names of workmen connected with the building have been discovered by Mr. Lethaby and Rev. Mr. Rackham, in their patient study of the old Fabric Rolls of this date: but none are of sufficient importance to warrant us in naming an architect in the sense of a designer, as we understand this word today. Matthew Paris says that it was the work of "divers architects," evidently

*In the Royal Letters of the Rolls Series for the years 1216-1272, I find none but the most casual references, and none at all that are illuminating, concerning this noble architectural achievement.

meaning master-workmen, since a number of designers is hardly probable. Various conjectures have been made as to the nationality of the designer, whether he was French or English. After reading much that has been written on this subject, my own conclusion is that, as in the case of Edward the Confessor, the plan was largely, perhaps entirely, the King's own, delivered to his master workman to be put in shape, and constantly overlooked as the work progressed by the King himself: also that not a little of the plan, as for example, the enriched transept ends, the eastern apse and the ambulatory were more or less in imitation of those features in the Norman church which he destroyed. The plan of the radiating chapels is unquestionably French: the bar tracery of the windows, distinguished by the large open circle so freely employed in French architecture of the period, also may be attributed to French influence. Yet there was beautiful traceried work to be seen in various triforium stages in England at this time.*

The time occupied in the building, or as

*That Henry III, if not the architect, was at least actively interested in the progress of the work, appears from a contemporary illustration in which he appears giving directions to a man who wears the low cap and bears the square and compasses of a workman of the period. v. p. 70.

much as the King lived to complete, was seven and twenty years, but the choir was opened for its first service in 1269. Some time must have been consumed in pulling down the stout Norman church, razed to the ground, says Matthew Paris, *quasi nullius*

HENRY III GIVING DIRECTIONS TO HIS ARCHITECT: BUILDING OPERATIONS AT THIS PERIOD

(From an early MS. in the British Museum)

valoris, "as if of no value." Also it must be remembered that the new building had to be adjusted to the Norman nave at the west end, since Henry completed only four of the nave bays and the others were left standing for a time: and it had also to be adjusted at the east end to the Early English Lady chapel built in 1220. On the south side of the nave and west of the transept lay the Norman cloister, only one

walk, or rather, only a part of one walk, being rebuilt at this time. With all these conditions and obstacles to meet, the progress of the new work was extremely good: and time has proved that it was thoroughly well constructed, for the decay is mainly from the surface of a stone too tender for the climate. The church seems to have been built on the old foundations and, as has been said, differed little in extent from that which it replaced.

The transepts were lengthened by two bays and were built with east and west aisles, except that, in the south transept, the west aisle was of necessity, in its lower stage, included in the east walk of the cloister: like the Norman transept, there were gallery passages at the end. The new church has been generally supposed to be loftier than the old by the height of the clerestory; but if the Norman church was modelled after Jumièges, it doubtless equalled it in height, and I find no reason for supposing that Jumièges was a low structure. The apse at the east was extended much farther back in order to admit the new chapel of the Confessor with its lofty shrine, as at Canterbury and St. Albans. We are told that the King's intention was to enlarge the church and this seems to have been chiefly at the east,

where, no doubt, more space was needed to accommodate the pilgrims who visited the shrine. This eastern part was elevated considerably above the level of the nave and transept, being built over a tumulus, or mound of earth brought in ships from the Holy Land at the King's command for this purpose. The Early English Lady chapel at the east, of which we know little, was as large as the present chapel of Henry VII, with the exception of the aisles and the eastern chapels, and terminated in a three-sided apse, the foundations of which were revealed in an excavation in 1876.

The chapter house was evidently completed in 1253, for there is a record of canvas bought in that year to close the windows. In general, the work is thought to have been begun in the north transept, in order that the south cloister, which must be pulled down before rebuilding in that quarter could begin, might be left untouched as long as possible and the regular life of the monks not interfered with. The first part of the work was probably complete in 1261, and then the choir was undertaken and completed in 1269. Since the Norman choir, under the lantern, was probably left standing to the east of

Henry's work, its width must have determined that of the main building.

The location of the south transept was determined by the position of the cloister garth on the south, which could not well be changed. The chapter house was encroached upon by lengthening the transept and had to be pushed farther back and supplied with a vestibule, the original chapter house having opened directly into the cloister. The west aisle of this transept as has been said, had to be carried over the east walk of the cloister in a unique fashion, hence no aisle appears in the main arcade of the south transept, but there is both a triforium and a clerestory. A rich mosaic pavement, the materials of which were brought from Rome, was placed in the Sanctuary in 1267. The beautiful shrine was completed in 1269.

In 1247, Henry III, whose love of sacred relics surpassed that of the French Louis, was made glad by the gift of a portion of the blood of our Lord, sent him from the Holy Land by the Knights Templar and Hospitallers. This enclosed in a rich vase, he bore reverently in his own hands, at the head of a solemn procession of clergy, from St. Paul's to the Abbey, on St. Edward's Day, and humbly offered it at the altar, in this second year of the

building of the new church, the altar then standing, for the time, in the nave of the old Norman church. Matthew Paris was a spectator on this occasion and the King invited him to dinner afterwards, with three of his brother monks, and ordered him to write an account of the ceremony.

HENRY III DELIVERING THE RELIC OF THE HOLY BLOOD TO THE ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER

(From an early MS. in the British Museum)

On St. Edward's Day, October 13, 1269, the east end of the church was sufficiently complete for occupancy. The King and the monks with great joy celebrated the opening of the choir for its first service and translated the body of the Confessor to its new resting place. From its temporary home in a chapel of the King's palace, it was reverently borne on the shoulders of the King, his two sons, Edward (later Edward I), and Edmund Crouchback, and Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the King's younger brother. Edward had at

this time been fifteen years married to the beautiful Eleanor, the *chere reine,* and no doubt, with his mother, Eleanor of Provence, stood also his own wife, with all the nobles of the court, as they placed the holy relics in the fair new shrine covered over with gold and richly set with precious stones in its place behind the high altar. The coffin in which the Confessor's body had rested for two centuries was reserved by the King for his own use, on account of its supposed sanctity. On this occasion, Henry's queen offered a beautiful silver image of the Virgin besides many costly jewels: the monks sang their first mass in the stately choir, not as we see it today, but decorated with rich and costly furnishings and its mosaic pavement, its large windows, and its sculpture all entire and fresh from the hands of the various craftsmen. All the space to the east of the crossing, so far as the Lady chapel and perhaps farther, was then open to view, in one long vista, the screen now at the back of the altar being of later date.

Precisely how much of the church was completed by the King at this time we do not know. The most reliable authorities today consider that all the eastern arm and transept, together with part of the east cloister walk, the chapter house and

four bays of the nave west of the crossing, and the main arcade of the fifth bay, were completed by this King: but for many decades the latest work in the nave was attributed to Edward I. The differences between the first and the immediately succeeding bays, however, are found to be minor differences and such as might naturally occur in the course of building operations covering a period of twenty-five years and more. Bronze rings on the piers replaced those of marble: the plan of the piers was improved and the number of encircling shafts increased: but the general appearance was the same as in the earlier work. Other evidence concerning the date is supplied by the stone shields in the spandrils of the wall arcade of the side aisles. In one of these appears the shield of Simon de Montfort which would hardly be used to his honour, though, no doubt, he contributed to the early fabric, after he took up arms against the King in 1263.

Henry III died at his palace of Westminster in 1272, three years after the splendid choir had been opened for use, being then in his sixty-fifth year, while building operations in the nave were still proceeding rapidly. His eldest son, crowned that same year as Edward I, was

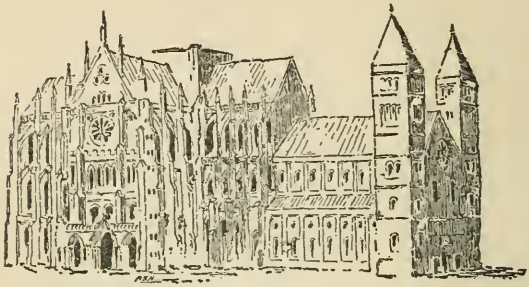
then thirty-three years of age, in the height of a strong and vigourous manhood, and for eighteen years had been married to Eleanor of Castile. To the young King, Henry committed the completion of the new building, "founded by the blessed Saint Edward," for whom the son had been named.*

At the time of his father's death, Edward I and Queen Eleanor were slowly returning from a crusade to the Holy Land. On his arrival in England, the new king's attention was speedily occupied by affairs in Wales: by the enactment of new laws and adjustment of old ones, and later, the wars in Scotland demanded his energies. The Abbey church, therefore, for wise reasons, remained practically as it had been left by his father. The kingdom was more important, at this time, than farther rebuilding of the church, and Edward recognized that which his name-saint and his own father had not sufficiently considered.

The first Edward's weak son, Edward II (1307-1327) cared as little for the

*The King's Will contained this clause: "Et fabricam ecclesiae beati Edwardi Westmonasterii et committi prefato Edwardo primogenito meo perficiendum . . . ad feretrum vero ipsius Edwardi beati perficiendum lego quingentas marcas argenti, percipiendas de jocalibus meis per manus praedictorum reginae et executorum meorum."

church as for the kingdom. Again, absorbing French wars occupied the third Edward's reign (1327-1377). In the meantime, the new work had been considerably damaged by fire in 1298, and imme-



HENRY III'S BUILDING WITH THE WEST PORTION OF THE CONFESSOR'S CHURCH (CONJECTURAL)

diate rebuilding was necessary in the cloister and its offices. The church itself had not been injured. And since there was no royal hand at leisure to supply either the material or the spirit to continue the rebuilding, it is probable that though the work may not have ceased entirely, yet from 1272, when Henry III died, until 1376, the appearance of the Abbey was that of a great and beautiful Early English church so far as the present fifth bay from the transept, connected by a porch with the western Norman bays of the Confessor's church.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMPLETION OF THE NAVE —THE *NOVUM OPUS*

(Built in the Early English manner imitating the earlier work, with some later architectural details, between 1376 and 1528: but the west towers were not completed until 1740.)

FOLLOWING the death of Henry III in 1272, no substantial changes were made or important building operations undertaken in the church for more than a century. The eastern arm of the church, with the transepts and four bays of the nave, stood connected by a porch with the Norman western bays of the old structure: but all that part which was in general use was of the new architecture.

A noble and honoured name now appears in the Abbey records, not a royal name, but that of one of the wisest friends that the fabric ever had. Abbot Simon Langham had made his profession as a Benedictine monk in the monastery of St. Peter's. In 1349, when the Black Death was ravaging England, and swept away the prior of the convent and twenty-six of his monks, Langham was elected prior.

Before the year was over, Abbot Byrcheston had fallen a victim to the plague, and Langham was made Abbot in his room "by harmonious and canonical election."

The impoverished condition of the Abbey treasury at this sad period, when all London was in distress, is evident from the fact that when the new Abbot was preparing to go to Avignon to receive the papal confirmation of his election, he was forced to sell the jewels and ornaments of the church to provide means for his long journey to the south of France. On his return, though apparently one of the younger members of the community, he laboured zealously to reform the lax discipline: "he rooted out* insolences and abuses, singularities, superfluities and maliciousness of some": paid the monastery debts and in all things governed wisely.

He began building operations on the nave and the south cloister, almost at once, and while little was accomplished in the nave at this time, he seems to have completed a very considerable part of the south and west walks of the cloister. Honours speedily fell to the wise young Abbot; in 1360, Edward III being king, he was chosen treasurer of England, and soon after was elected to the bishopric of Lon-

*Flete.

don; but Ely also falling vacant, and its diocese being "distracted," at the king's desire he proceeded to the chair of Ely, and the year following was made Archbishop of Canterbury. Five years later, Pope Urban V made him Cardinal-presbyter of St. Sixtus, and this honour necessitating residence at the papal court at Avignon, he resigned the Primacy and went abroad for the remainder of his life, but was usually called the Cardinal of Canterbury. In such honour was he held at Westminster, that when he returned to England in 1371 to mediate between the kings of England and France, the bells of St. Peter's, his early and beloved monastic home, were rung to welcome him.

His love and care for Westminster never failed. But of particular interest to us in this study is the fact that in the last year of his life (he died in 1376) his thoughts turned again to the Abbey, and he set apart an ample yearly allowance for the completion of the nave, and sent word to Abbot Litlington of his intention, asking that building operations be undertaken at once. In April of this year the Abbot wrote to the Cardinal: "You must know that since Michelmas there have been seven masons continually at work and three at the quarry at Reigate: and since

Christmas ten masons to pull down the side of the church next the cloister (i.e., the wall of the south nave aisle), and all is in readiness now for rising twelve feet in height and three pillars in length. I myself laid the first stone on the first Monday in Lent (March, 1376), in honour of God and St. Peter, and in the name of our most honourable lord."

To this the Cardinal's deputy replied: "As to the progress of the new work of your church, my lord has received your letter setting out clearly the form and manner of the work. It seems to him that, all things considered, the workmen are too slow at their work, half-hearted and slack *(tepidi et remisi)*." The Cardinal, however, wrote later, and in somewhat milder strain, though severe and peremptory, expressing appreciation of what had been accomplished, and Litlington replied, wishing that Langham might come over and supervise the work, saying that it was much more difficult to pull down and rebuild than to build in a new place and that the Cardinal's money had to go for stone, rubble and other material, as well as for labour.

This letter from the Abbot, Langham never read, for he died suddenly, a few days later, of a paralytic stroke received

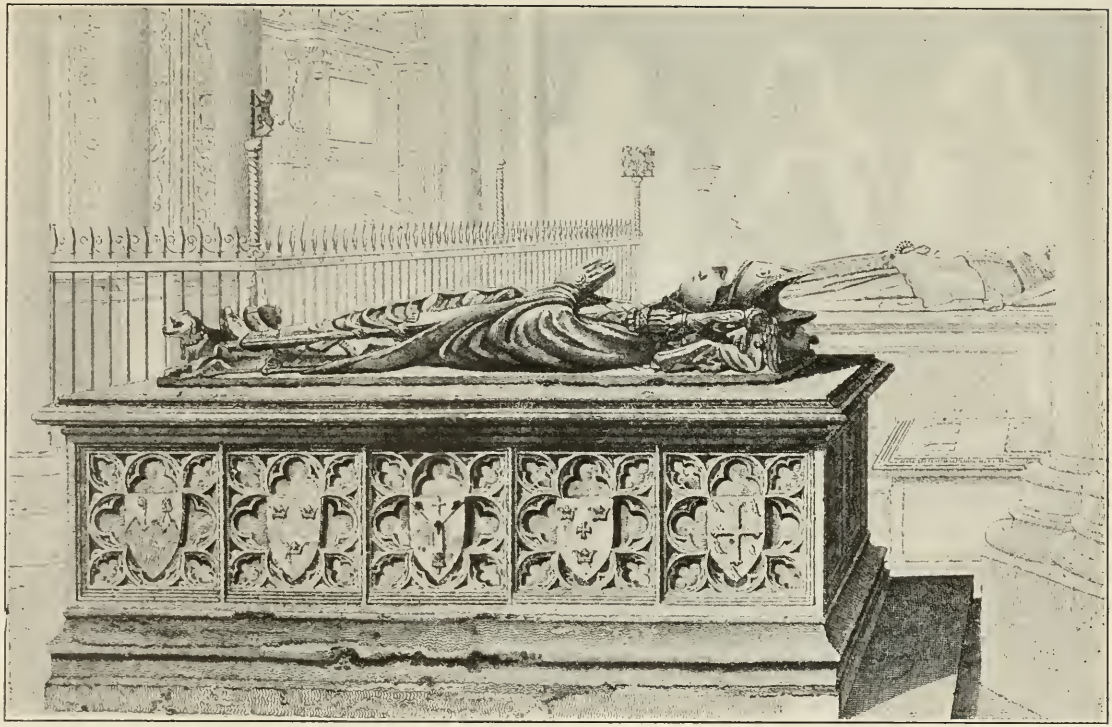
as he sat listening, at breakfast, to a reading of the Scripture. It was found that he had left £10,800, equal to $750,000 of present value, to the further rebuilding of the Abbey, together with many rich and valuable ornaments. His mitre alone was said to be worth £1,500 and was of gold decorated with pearls and other precious stones and the infulae were garnished with "eight great stonys and perles and VIII pendant bells of gold."

How did a humble monk of St. Benedict accumulate such wealth? Not, we may be certain, from the small amount of spending-money granted the Westminster monks. But adding together his income as Treasurer of England, as Chancellor, Bishop of Ely, Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal, "at a time when riches easily followed greatness," and considering the fact that while Cardinal, in 1373, he held also the offices of Dean of Lincoln and Prebendary of Brampton, in the same cathedral; Treasurer of Wells and Archdeacon of Wells and Taunton; was a Prebendary of York and Archdeacon of the West Riding:* and the fact that though a princely giver he was a prudent guardian, we may understand the reason for his

*Dean Robinson in the Church Quarterly Review, 66: 339ff.

great wealth. His father, Thomas, lay buried in the nave of Westminster, and it is thought by some that a part of the Cardinal's early wealth may have been inherited. "A great and a good man who filled the highest offices in church and state with dignity, integrity and unselfishness."

Cardinal Langham was buried in the chapel of St. Benedict, in the south transept, where his beautiful tomb and effigy, placed here by the grateful monastery, still remain. The fruits of his legacy appear in the sixth, seventh and eighth bays of the main arcade of the nave, counting from the crossing; the five bays to the east, as we have seen, being already completed, except the two upper stages of the fifth bay, by Henry III. But of all the Cardinal's magnificent gift, no more than this was appropriated to the building of the church itself. With the remainder, thrifty Abbot Litlington built sumptuously in cloister and precincts. He rebuilt the north walk of the cloister, the noble Dormitory, the upper part of the Refectory, the Infirmary Hall, the Abbot's Lodging, including the Jerusalem Chamber and College Hall. Also of Langham's bounty were erected the long range of buildings formerly continuous, on the south side of



CARDINAL LANGHAM'S TOMB IN ST. BENEDICT'S CHAPEL
From an engraving by Neale.

the present Dean's Yard, having vaulted gateways to the cloister, and beyond, to the kitchen yard and the present Westminster School: also the great Kitchen, the Brewery, the monastery Mill, and the dam over the Mill Stream. These works are often accredited to Abbot Litlington, under whose able supervision they were erected, and whose passion for attaching his initials here, there and everywhere was almost equal to that of Rameses II. Even on the bosses of the cloister walks (probably all that he added to Langham's work in the cloister) you may see the familiar "N. L." And it is generally thought that he diverted the Cardinal's legacy from the work on the nave for which it was intended.

Following the death of Litlington in 1386, the nave building received a fresh impetus from a third royal builder, Richard II, who, in 1388, promised an annual gift of £100, he being then twenty years old and presumably having a long life in prospect, the gift being equal to about $7,500 of our money today. By a curious coincidence, this third royal benefactor was a third English king of inferior ability as a statesman, but a devout and generous friend of the church and of the Abbey. Here he had been crowned, after

the death of his grandfather, Edward III (his father, the Black Prince, not living to come to the throne) he being then a boy of eleven, on whom the splendid ceremonial made a deep and lasting impression. Here, in 1382, he was married by the Bishop of London to the beautiful young Anne of Bohemia. The Confessor's shrine he held in high esteem and came constantly to the Abbey not only to visit it but to hear mass: and we read that in 1386 he brought here his royal guest, King John of Armenia, and showed him, by candlelight the regalia which he had worn at his coronation. Doubtless he was a better friend to the Abbey than his father, the Black Prince, would have proved. In 1387, grateful for the promise of support from the citizens of London in the midst of his many difficulties, Richard came in procession to the Abbey and at Charing Cross took off his shoes and walked barefoot the remaining distance. At the west door he was received by the Abbot and convent and then made his devotions.

The Fabric Rolls tell us of the work now undertaken through the gift of Richard. The chief mason was Master Henry Yvele, who received one hundred shillings a year and fifteen shillings for his dress and furs. Twenty masons were employed

in 1397 and for their convenience a house or lodge was erected on the north side of the nave. The building stone came chiefly from the Reigate quarries, was brought in carts to Battersea, there placed in boats, floated down the Thames to the Westminster mill and thence conveyed in carts to the Abbey. The King's particular gift was a beautiful North Porch called Solomon's Porch, which he caused to be built at the north transept, probably then, as now, the most usual entrance to the church. It was of graceful decorated design, handsomely adorned with paintings on its inner walls. Here were seen the king's arms supported by two angels and beneath them his device, a white hart *couchant,* gorged, under a tree, with a gold chain and coronet. The windows in the south nave aisle containing this same emblem were doubtless of this period. Rich offerings were made to the church by the King on the death of his passionately loved queen, Anne of Bohemia, in 1394. The King died in 1399, and left a rich store of jewels for the work on the church, *"per nos incepta."*

The expense of this new work is estimated by Mr. Rackham as £152,000, or $315,000 in present day values: but the Rolls for some of the years are missing.

The marble pillars alone cost from £40 to £60 each.*

The troubled reign of Henry IV, Richard II's successor, contains no record of building operations at the Abbey: but the accession of his son, Henry V, in 1413, was the beginning of a new and prosperous era for church building. The King, disturbed at the unfinished condition of the nave, set apart an annual gift of 1000 marks towards its completion, and though Abbot Colchester was still alive, he would permit no further work to be undertaken until Sir Richard Whittington, the famous Lord Mayor of London, had seen and approved the plans, and to him he gave the charge of his gift to the fabric.

To this period Rackham assigns the triforium and clerestory of the fifth bay from the transept, left unfinished by Henry III's builders: also the entire triforium and clerestory of the bays from the sixth to the eleventh, a great and nota-

*At this period, an inventory of the Vestry includes very valuable vestments, among them eight mitres richly jewelled with pearls, sapphires, golden bells and silver plates; four crosiers, one of silver; nine pairs of rich Episcopal gloves ornamented with jewels; seven rings, including that of the Confessor, which contained a great sapphire and eight red stones and a beautiful altar frontal, the gift of Henry III, which took four women three and a half years to make, given the year before the King died.

ble piece of work: but the vault and the roof are of later date. During these twenty years, 2,413 carts of stone were brought between July, 1413, and Christmas, 1416: and twenty masons were constantly employed.

Henry V reigned but nine years. Building operations continued all along the years of his son, Henry VI (1422-1461), though comparatively little was accomplished. The wars with France and the Wars of the Roses were more than sufficient to engross the King's attention, and again the Church waited on the State. But in 1432, the King gave a writ of £200 to the clerks of Henry V's chantry chapel, hence it must have been complete at this time, a beautiful addition to the east end of the Abbey. The great dormitory of the monks was burned in 1447, and rebuilt at a cost of £184 during the three years following. The large rose window of the south transept was repaired (1451-1462), for which twelve hundred and forty pounds of new iron and ten hundred and twenty-seven of old were used: the new glazing had the King's arms in the centre.

Now, again, an abbot of the monastery comes into prominence as a builder, in 1467, Edward IV being King, the able

Abbot Milling, and under his energetic direction the entire monastery seems to have been enthusiastically interested in the completion of the long delayed work. The monks saved something from their small pocket money, and denied themselves their annual summer excursion to Battersea for this purpose. The King gave £100 a year: the Queen, who had twice sought sanctuary from her enemies in the Abbey, added to the gift: and the Prince (who was born in the Abbey), was made to promise that when he was four years of age he would give forty marks a year until he was twelve.

The principal works now remaining to be accomplished were the vaulting, the roof and the west front. Abbot Easteney's long reign (1474-1498) was fruitful in good work for the church. He vaulted five bays of the nave and the side aisles, roofed the entire nave, and completed the west window. For the roof one hundred and thirty-two oaks were given by the monastery of St. Albans, which was then in the midst of forest and the King gave forty oaks: the prior of Canterbury also contributed for this purpose. A great store of lead to cover the roof was provided. For the vaulting, they bought one hundred and forty-nine loads of stone and

employed twenty-three masons "for varying intervals." The bosses for the vault were raised to their places by means of a great wheel. Scaffolding was floored for the use of the masons and partitioned off: and provision was made to shut out the wind, weather and pigeons.* The battlements and flying buttresses were also completed at this time.†

Henry VII (1485-1509) not only erected one of the most beautiful Lady chapels that England or the world ever saw, but also gave large sums of money towards the completion of the nave. A considerable amount of stone, to the value of £80, from the Early English Lady chapel which was pulled down in 1502 to make room for the new one, was given to the building of the nave, and here, if we search for them, may be found stones dressed in the Early English manner.

The paving was done by Abbot Islip between 1510 and 1517, for which more than three thousand paving stones were purchased and several "hard-hewers" were engaged for the task. Some idea of the confusion that must have reigned within the Abbey previous to its completion, may be gathered from the fact

*Rackham.
†Widmore.

that between 1508 and 1512 nearly six hundred cartloads of rubbish were cleared away. Abbot Islip finished the vault, and the gable end; glazed the west window* and completed the west towers so far as the Gothic work is continued. The Renaissance work on the west front and the towers, first designed by Wren, were completed by Nicholas Hawkesmoor, c. 1745.*

The nave windows were glazed at different periods, some of them as early as the time of Richard II, and one of them, at least, contained his device, the hart *couchant*. Another contained the figures of the Confessor and the Pilgrim. The great west window was glazed in 1509, the glass costing £44 and a glazier from Malvern (Great Malvern was a cell of Westminster), was paid to come and inspect it. The western gables, and, as has been said, the upper part of the west towers, remained unfinished until the middle of the eighteenth century, c. 1745.

While Abbot Islip was completing his work on the towers, he was also completing the glazing of the clerestory windows and with other minor work he also built

*Rackham.

*Not unlikely, says Micklethwaite, considering their twelfth century form, the west towers retain some of the old Norman masonry cased over.

the quaint little oriel or projecting pew at the west of the nave, in the triforium stage, called the Abbot's Pew, which connects at the rear with the new chambers which he added to his Lodgings. He also built, or rather rebuilt, the beautiful little chapel in the north ambulatory which bears his name.

While the west end of the nave was being completed, in the early days of the sixteenth century, Henry VII designed and founded the magnificent Lady chapel which now bears his name, at the east end of the church. The work was begun in 1503, and probably not entirely finished with the tomb of the founder and the altar until 1519. The story of this building will be found in Chapter XVI. It was constructed after the latest and most ornate designs and detail of the Perpendicular Gothic style of architecture.

Thus the long story of the church building was ended, nearly five hundred years from the time when the third Henry began to build. The most remarkable feature of the entire history, perhaps, is the fact that, with the exception of the Renaissance work at the west front, the Early English style of the eastern building of Henry III was never substantially altered: and that, at a time when the Decorated and Perpendicu-

lar manner of Gothic architecture were in use throughout England, these Westminster builders, one by one, century by century, were content to adopt the earlier method and so to complete in a nearly uniform style the work that their fathers began.

The general plan of arches, piers, mouldings, vaults and capitals, and the original proportions were preserved throughout. While Abbot Langham built his cloister walls in the fourteenth century style; and Abbot Litlington continued them in the manner of his day, the architecture of the nave was kept, almost rigourously, to the Early English design. While Henry VII and Abbot Islip were building gloriously and with richest ornament, in their chapels at the east, the solemn old nave was allowed to retain the fashions of its dress and ornament, now two and a half centuries old. A little scrutiny enables one to detect changes in mouldings and piers: the lack of ornament in the spandrils and other minor differences but the general impression of the church interior from apse to west front is that of an Early English building.

The Abbey church remained in use for the original purpose of its building only a few years after its completion. Masses

were to be said in Henry VII's chapel, and in many other chapels, "perpetually"; but Abbot Islip had been in his grave only eight years when the monastery was dissolved by order of Henry VIII, the Confessor's shrine was pillaged and destroyed and the Roman form of worship passed away, save for a brief period during the reign of the Roman Catholic Queen Mary.

CHAPTER V

THE PLAN

THE usual entrance to the Abbey is by way of the north porch which leads directly into the north transept. Walking down this transept to the central bay under the tower, at the point where the long and short arms of the cruciform church intersect, and turning to face the altar at the east, an excellent idea of the general plan of the church may be obtained. And it is well worth while to gain a comprehensive idea of the plan at the outset, before making acquaintance with the different portions of the building.

In front of us, to the east, rises the stately choir of three bays with an apse of five compartments: but the two eastern bays and the apse which form the Confessor's chapel are here set off from the two western bays by a low screen, the central compartment of which forms the reredos of the altar. It will be seen at once that the larger part of this eastern arm lies behind the altar; but when the church was first built, the Confessor's shrine within the chapel was the central object, after the main altar: and until the fifteenth century

no screen intervened to obstruct the view of chapel and shrine from the west: thus the choir as originally built must have appeared far more imposing than it does today. It is built in three lofty stages, a main arcade having narrow pointed arches, a broad and lofty triforium and a still loftier and well-lighted clerestory. A good stone vault constructed of chalk and firebrick crowns the structure and it is supported by triple vaulting shafts which spring from the main arcade.

Around this central aisle of the choir runs an outer aisle or ambulatory, from which six chapels radiate, two from each side and one, the great chapel of Henry VII, from the central bay of the ambulatory: the chantry of Henry V is inserted in the triforium level over the ambulatory at the central bay and is entered from the Confessor's chapel at the east. The two northern chapels are dedicated to St. Paul and St. John the Baptist: the southern, to St. Nicholas and St. Edmund, and all are crowded to their doors with the tombs and memorial tablets of six centuries.

Two other chapels are entered from the ambulatory, the Islip chapel on the north and St. Benedict's on the south: but these are chapels projecting east from the north and the south transept, and form no inte-

gral part of the choir, though for convenience they are now entered from its aisles. The east aisle of the north transept, once containing three chapels, one in each bay, must also be studied from the ambulatory, since the arches which connect with the transept are now blocked up by monuments.

The Lady chapel of Henry VII, built on at the east in place of an Early English Lady chapel, in the sixteenth century, is almost a church by itself, having a central and side aisles, and radiating apsidal chapels at the east. It is approached by steps east of the Confessor's chapel, and through a broad vestibule, and like every other part of the church is closely occupied with monuments.

The general aspect of this great eastern arm of the church is that of a large mausoleum to which the functions of a church are only subsidiary.

The noble transept, the richest in England, consists of three bays in each arm, and is built, like the choir, in three lofty stages. The north transept has both east and west aisles: the south has an east aisle and the two upper stages of a west aisle, but the room of its lower story is taken off to form the east walk of the cloister without. In the second story in this southwest

aisle is the old muniment room, once the monk's writing room or scriptorium. At the south end of the transept, forming a south aisle, stands the chapel of St. Faith, once used as a revestry, but now set apart for private devotions and sometimes used for early services. A small door at the southeast angle of the transept leads out to the street near the chapter house, from which point a very good view of the chapter house and of Henry VII's chapel may be obtained.

The entire arrangement of the eastern arm of the church including choir, ambulatory and transepts, as seen from the crossing bay, is one of great beauty, bringing to a common centre, from every side, vistas and views, complex and intricate, fascinating and bewildering which hold one enraptured. The views include the most ornate and beautiful architecture in the church, if we except the lavishly ornamented chapel of Henry VII. The lover of Gothic architecture will here pause long and drink in the full meaning of the lofty arches, the shafted columns, the rich sculptured ornament and the general effect of the mingled colours of stone, monuments and stained glass windows.

The nave running west of the crossing consists of twelve bays with aisles. The

four eastern bays are closed off from the western bays by a screen to form the ritual choir in which are placed the stalls for the clergy and choristers. The general architectural features of the nave are the same as those of the choir.

The cloister is entered from the south nave aisle by a door at the east, which leads into the east walk where the chapter house is situated: and by a door at the west end of the same aisle, leading into the north walk.

The Jerusalem Chamber, a part of the old Abbots' Lodgings, and the Dean's Yard may be seen from the west walk of the cloister by going through a door at the extreme south end of the walk; or else from the street. The Norman Undercroft containing the chapel of the Pyx: the Dark Cloister: the Infirmary Court and the Westminster School Yard, are approached from the east walk of the cloister.

It will be found that a pocket compass is of great assistance in locating the various portions of an old monastic church.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHOIR AND SANCTUARY

"Methought I sat in seat of majesty
In the cathedral church of Westminster,*
And in that chair where kings and queens are crowned,
Where Henry and Dame Margaret kneeled to me
And on my head did set the diadem."

HENRY VI, PART II, ACT 1, SC. 2.

THE term Choir, as used in a mediæval church commonly includes that eastern portion of the church which is occupied by the celebrants and which contains the principal altar. The easternmost portion of the choir, that in which the altar is invariably found, is called the presbytery.

The arrangement of the Westminster choir is, as we have seen in studying the general plan (Chap. V), unusual. Here

*This is an interesting instance of the "divine inaccuracy" of Shakespeare. Westminster Abbey did not attain cathedral rank until nearly a century after the period of this play, and had ceased to enjoy that honour for nearly a half century when Shakespeare wrote.

the choir properly consists of six bays, including a presbytery of two bays with the altar, at the east of the crossing, locally called The Sanctuary: and the four eastern bays of the nave to the west of the crossing, containing the stalls for the clergy and choristers, called The Choir. Included with these also is the bay at the crossing, in which the pulpit stands. This arrangement is usual in Spanish churches but not in those of England: in the Norman period of architecture, however a single bay of the nave was often used as the choir in connection with the tower bay, as at Norwich, Peterborough, St. Albans and Winchester, the bays so used constituting what was called the ritual or working choir: while that part to the east, containing the altar, was the architectural choir.

In all mediæval Christian churches, the central object, that for which the church existed, was the principal or high altar. It was the centre of the monk's devotion, the object to which his thoughts were most frequently turned. Believing as he did that here the bread and wine of the mass were transformed into the Body and Blood of Our Lord, it was to him the most sacred spot in the church and was always that which was most sumptuously furnished, most lavishly decorated. With the truth

or falsity of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, we have here nothing to do: but in order to understand the meaning of a mediæval choir, and why it was so important a feature of the church and its ritual, it is necessary to remember that every monk believed, and the people who came here to worship believed, that Our Lord, in actual bodily presence, was in the bread consecrated at the mass; and for this reason, the altar containing that bread was an object of the highest reverence, the most sincere devotion, and whatever would be offered in sacrifice or in worship to the Lord Himself would be offered at this altar.

The choir was invariably, and of necessity, the first part of a church to be built, since without the altar there could be no worship: and when completed, the church might be consecrated whether the nave and aisles were finished or incomplete. If any part was to be rebuilt in greater beauty, it was the choir: if choice glass, rich pavement, fine metal work or painted decoration was to be provided for the church, it was without hesitation directed first to the choir, and in all cases to that part of the choir containing the altar. The most natural starting point in the study of a mediæval church is, therefore, this eastern part

of the building, the east arm of the cross representing that on which Our Lord's head rested at the crucifixion, called the choir.

The two bays east of the crossing, approached by a flight of steps and containing the altar, are at Westminster called The Sanctuary, and in the following description the term choir will be applied to those four eastern bays of the nave in which the stalls for clergy and choristers are situated.

King Henry lived to see all of this eastern part of the church completed. His fine taste, his beauty-loving eyes, must have been profoundly gratified as he gazed on the noble aisles and stately apse, the magnificent transept and the noble place of the shrine. Here, three years before his death, the royal founder heard the music of the first mass ever celebrated within the new walls, Oct. 13, 1269. The vestments were of the richest that the Abbey chests afforded: clouds of incense rolled up to the noble vaulted ceiling: not a leaf nor a tendril of the exquisitely carved foliage but was in the perfect loveliness of its youth: the censing angels of stone were fresh and fair: the windows brilliant with their glories of ruby and sapphire, emerald and amber: not a tomb interrupted the

perfect view of arch, aisle and wall arcade: no trace of mortality marred the perfect beauty of the stately aisles fresh from the hand of skill and grace. Joy was in the heart of the King: joy reigned in the monastery. But the King died and Edward, his son, reigned in his stead.

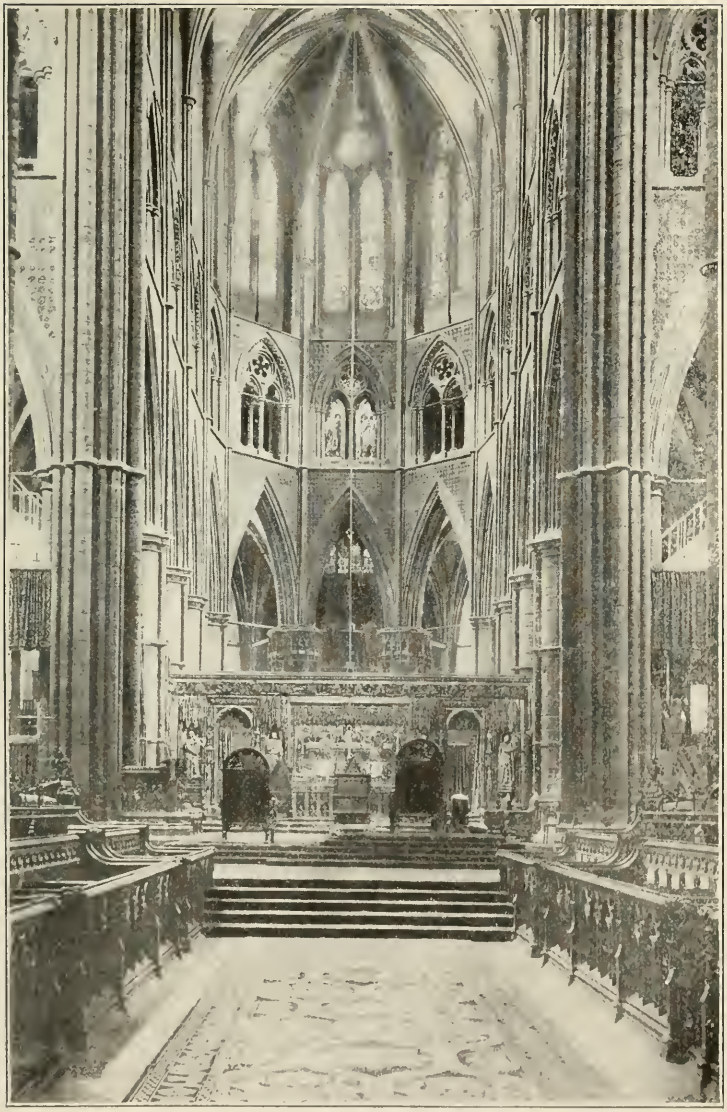
Today the aisles still stand in noble dignity and no little beauty, and as they once thrilled the King's heart with delight, so today they thrill the hearts of thousands, though time has worn away much of their original beauty and marred the fair architecture by the introduction of incongruous marble monuments which have little meaning or beauty.

The eastern arm of the church, including the Sanctuary and the Confessor's chapel, separated from each other by a low screen, is the dominating feature of the entire building, a lofty, splendid architectural composition, which has been the centre of so much that is stately, solemn and impressive, pathetic and joyous in the lives of the sovereigns of England; so full of historical reminiscence that one might well pause here and forget other lines of study and meditation. It cherishes the tomb of one Queen, the grave of another. A prince and his bride, and the founder's nephew are remembered in the three monu-

ments on the north side, perhaps the most beautiful among the hundreds of memorials in the Abbey.

The general effect of the architecture is impressive and admirable. All the lines contribute to an appearance of height and we know that it is the loftiest church in England, though much lower than the great French cathedrals. The arches are slender and lofty for their width: the walls of the apse incline gently inward to form a graceful central compartment: the east windows sparkle brilliantly with the only considerable remains of a once elaborate series of windows: all the altar fittings and the reredos, though modern, are of rich colour and material and the choicest modern workmanship. Abbot Ware's costly mosaic pavement is covered over with a rich Persian carpet.

Choir, nave and transept are built in three lofty stages, a main arcade, triforium and clerestory, and have stone vaults. The well-proportioned arches of the main arcade are supported by heavy round columns surrounded, at rather wide intervals, by four slender shafts, a design which is found throughout all the earlier work; in the later portions to the west, a more graceful effect is secured by the use of eight shafts instead of four. All the spandril



THE CHOIR LOOKING EAST—ARRANGED FOR A CORONATION

arches are richly diapered, as in the north transept at Hereford cathedral, and as in numerous Norman churches, Rochester, for example.

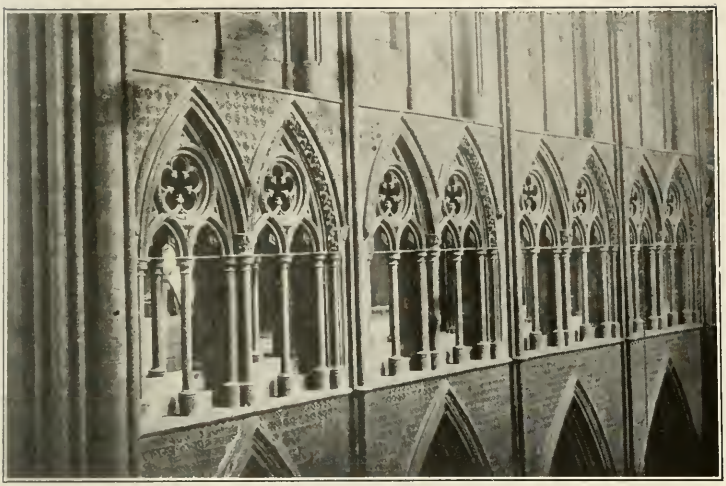
The triforium is a notable architectural feature of the Abbey, beautiful in design, in proportion and in ornament and is continued in all its beauty through the transept, the eastern bays of the nave, and with something less of ornament in the western bays as well. It consists of two noble, lofty containing arches in each bay, each subdivided, and is a contrast to the low broad bays of the Salisbury triforium which has the same general plan. The spandrils are richly diapered, as in the main arcade, the mouldings enriched with sculptured foliage: and the moulded circle in the head of the arch contains a beautiful cusped cinquefoil. In the eastern bay on each side and in the apse only a single containing arch finds room, but elsewhere throughout the building each bay contains two arches. The clerestory windows are unusually lofty and have two lights with plainly traceried heads. They were once filled with rich glass.

The vault is sexpartite, of chalk and firestone, giving a two-colour effect, and was once brilliant with gold and silver, now partially restored. There are both longi-

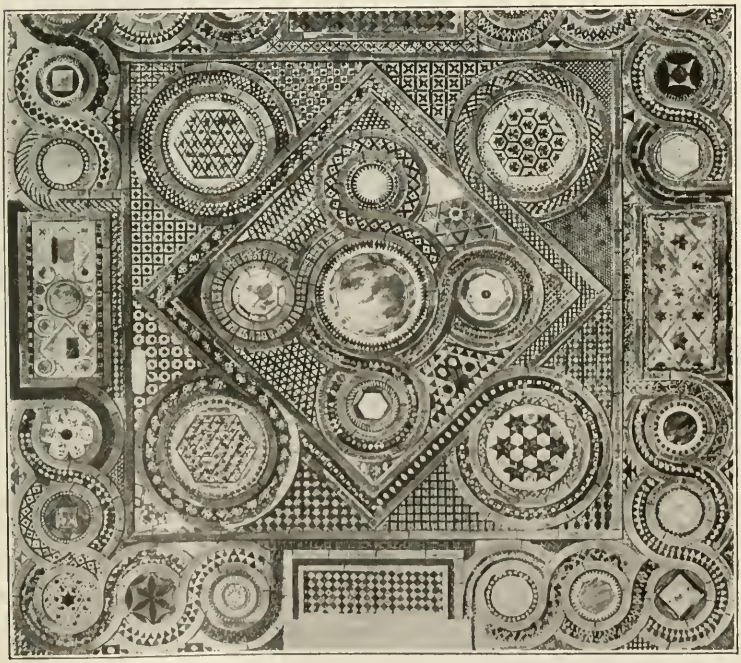
tudinal and transverse ridge ribs, and the slender triple vaulting shafts rise from the capitals of the main arcade.

The proportions throughout the church are noticeably lacking in width: but in this eastern arm, the deficiency is well supplied by the immediate environment of ambulatory and open, radiating chapels which send a flood of light from their lofty windows, and by the lofty, broad transept arm which is immediately adjacent forming almost continuous features of the three arcades, so slight is the separation caused by the delicate group of the shafts of the tower bay.

A low Screen against which the reredos of the altar is set, runs across the Sanctuary at the end of the second bay, separating it from the Confessor's chapel in the apse: but since this rises scarcely half the height of the columns of the main arcade, the entire apse, except its lower portion, is included in this eastern aspect. The eastmost bay is so slightly curved inward at the beginning of the apse that it may be considered either a part of the apse, which would then have five compartments: or as one of the bays, and the apse would then consist of three compartments. The three central bays of the main arcade of the apse have sharp lancet arches and are



The Triforium Arcade



Abbot Ware's Pavement in the Sanctuary

richly diapered in their spandrils. The Screen at the back of the reredos dates only from the fifteenth century: hence for nearly or quite two centuries, the entire eastern limb of the church, with the Confessor's shrine and Plantagenet tombs in the apse, were included in the eastern view from the crossing. Cloth of arras wrought with scenes from the Confessor's life once hung on the walls of the Sanctuary and later, in the reign of Queen Anne, wainscotting of wood took its place, till 1820, concealing and also preserving the beautiful tombs, which could then be seen only from the side aisles.

The thirteenth century Italian Mosaic Pavement of the Sanctuary is one of the most interesting works of its kind now in existence and has recently, with the Confessor's shrine and tomb of the same character, been made the subject of special investigation by the Italian Government. The date of the pavement, the artist who wrought it and the donor, need not be sought in archives, since these facts are conveniently stated in an inscription in brass letters on one of the medallions near the altar, made when the stones were laid: and though nearly all the brass has disappeared, the matrices remain perfect and one easily reads: "Tertius: henricus: rex:

URBS: Odericus: et: Abbas: nos: comperere: porphyrgos: lapides: RI: Millano: bigento: duodano: cum: sexageno: subducens: quatuor: anno." A free translation shows that in the year of Christ, 1268, King Henry III, Odericus and the Abbot together placed these porphyry stones. The pavement was therefore wrought when the Sanctuary was completed, in the King's lifetime and under his supervision, Abbot Ware assisting, by Odericus, a Roman citizen, bought hither for the purpose.

In 1258, Abbot Richard de Ware, going to Rome to secure the papal confirmation of his election, lingering by the way for nearly two years, became familiar with the Italian art of the period, as displayed in the numerous churches of Italy: and on a second visit, nine years later, by order of the King, who would naturally be interested in obtaining everything beautiful, from any source, for his new church, we find the Abbot collecting material not only for the Shrine to be built and adorned in the Italian manner, but also for this "very curious and rare pavement." In France, it is said, he purchased from the ruins of a destroyed building, red and green porphyry, lapis lazuli, jasper, alabaster and Lydian, Carrara and Phrygian marbles.

For the proper fitting together of the pavement he brought from Rome an experienced workman.

The pavement mosaic is called Opus Romanum* and is constructed of rich stones in pieces varying in size from less than half an inch to four inches, a few of porphyry being larger, set in a ground of English Purbeck marble. The central feature of the design is a circular plane of clouded porphyry, two and a half feet in diameter, around which were set small six-rayed stars of lapis lazuli, pea green and white. These are enclosed by a band of alabaster, bordered by a circle of red and green lozenges forming triangles. Around this central design is a border of circles and parallelograms intersecting each other in the guilloche manner, each square and circle being filled with a variety of smaller designs made up of tiny pieces of marble. "The grouping of colours and the rest given at intervals is so judicious, producing such an exquisite harmony of colour, that nothing better could be produced by the brush and palette."

Odericus, the Roman workman, would seem to have been a member of the famous Cosmati family of Italy or else a pupil, the

*Chevalier Formilli.

Cosmati being celebrated as workers in marbles who founded a school for the practice of their arts. They were known all over the Continent and to possess even a column decorated by their skill "was almost as precious as to possess the relic of a saint." The family wrought, it was said, more for God and the Church than for money, and wrought with the religious zeal that inspired Angelico's frescoes. They made the sign of the cross at the beginning and the end of their daily work and sang hymns of praise to God as they toiled.

From Abbot Ware's store of precious stones were constructed the decorations of the Confessor's shrine: the pavement of his chapel: and, with some additions, the tomb of Henry III and the tombs of the royal children in the south ambulatory.

The north side of the Sanctuary pavement is that in the best state of preservation, and the visitor will readily recognize the design as that which Holbein used in his well-known picture, "The Ambassadors," at the National Gallery in London.

An interesting feature of the pavement was an inscription, "circularly written in letters of brass," which Widmore, the patient eighteenth century librarian and historian of the Westminster chapter, trans-

lates as a poetical prophecy that the world was to endure 19,683 years, according to the Ptolemaic system. The inscription (translated) reads:

"A three-fold hedge, dogs, horses and men,
Deer and ravens, eagles, huge whales, The World.
That which follows triples the foregoing year.
This, a spherical globe, shows the original microcosm."

This involved and mysterious inscription is thus interpreted:

A three-fold hedge stands for three years, the time a dry hedge is supposed to last, and, following the direction, "that which follows triples the foregoing year"; the life of a dog is three times three, or nine years: of a horse, three times nine or twenty-seven years: of a man, three times twenty-seven, or eighty-one years, etc., etc., and three times 2187, the whale's life, again multiplied by three, gives the 19,683 years of the world's duration.

Abbot Richard Ware died in 1283, in the reign of Edward I, having outlived his King, and is buried, with three other abbots of his period, on the north side of the Sanctuary beneath this beautiful pavement which is his monument. But his name lives also in the *Consuetudines,* a large volume containing the customs and rules of the monastery and the duties of its officers, which was compiled under his direction. The book was kept in a chest by itself "because of the secrets of our order contained therein." A small part of it, saved from a destructive fire, has recently

been deciphered and printed. The Abbot was much in the confidence of Edward I, as well as of Henry III, and a few years before his death was appointed Treasurer of England. The chapter house was entirely completed during his abbacy (1258-1283), and he probably gave to it the beautiful and interesting tiles which still remain in almost perfect condition, the finest series of the sort remaining in England.

Hidden away under the Sanctuary pavement, in their original position, are the only remaining portions of the Norman church of Edward the Confessor, consisting of a part of the curve of the apse foundation and the so-called bases of three of the Norman piers of the apse, now made visible by means of small trap-doors cut in the floor. They were found three feet below the present floor, and are really the stumps not of actual piers but of responds and one of them is only a part of the plinth stone.

"It seems obvious* that the one to the east must have been one of the responds to the arch opening to the apse, and a comparison with a series of early Norman plans fully confirms this view. The fact that just those parts remain which would

*Lethaby.

represent piers attached to walls rather than isolated pillars made up of grouped members, would be very remarkable at so early a date, especially in the short length of the presbytery."

Two of these bases are on the north side, between the aisle and the Sanctuary. The east pair inclined inward so that the space between the eastern piers must have been fully two feet six inches less than the space between the pair at the west. They seem to have stood against the arcade, open or closed, which ran between the presbytery and its aisle.

The apse foundation was discovered quite recently while excavations were being made under the Confessor's chapel* to the east of the small south door in the screen between the chapel and the Sanctuary. It is the concave curve of a foundation wall of concreted rubble, chiefly of flints and tending north and south. It was discovered not quite six feet below the surface and was filled in above with rubbish. Roman tiles and fragments of Roman masonry were discovered on the apse foundation, but whether bonded with it or merely laid on as a covering was not evident.

The low iron railing which separates the Sanctuary from the crossing is a beau-

*Arch. 62:99.

tiful specimen of modern ironwork, having patterns of scrolls, foliage and small roses, painted and gilt.

The fine old wooden sedilia, or seats for the officiating clergy, on the south side of the altar, are the oldest furnishings of the Sanctuary now remaining and are thought to date from the time of Edward II (1307-1327), hence are almost as old as the building itself. There are four seats having lofty wooden canopies, once elaborately painted on their backs with tall figures, four on the north and four on the south side: but only two, on the north side, remain, thought to represent Siebert and Henry III: and the traces of two others, which may have been Edward the Confessor and the Pilgrim. These seem to have been destroyed wilfully: Neale found marks of a plane with which they had been smoothed down.

The painted decorations are of much interest on account of their early date and were done in gesso, or plaster laid on wood. The sedilia were also enriched on the front of the canopy with glass enamel, iridescent pearl, and glass set in silver foil. Two of the corbels are heads, one of a king, and one of an abbot or else a bishop with his mitre, both crown and mitre being painted to imitate jewels: the

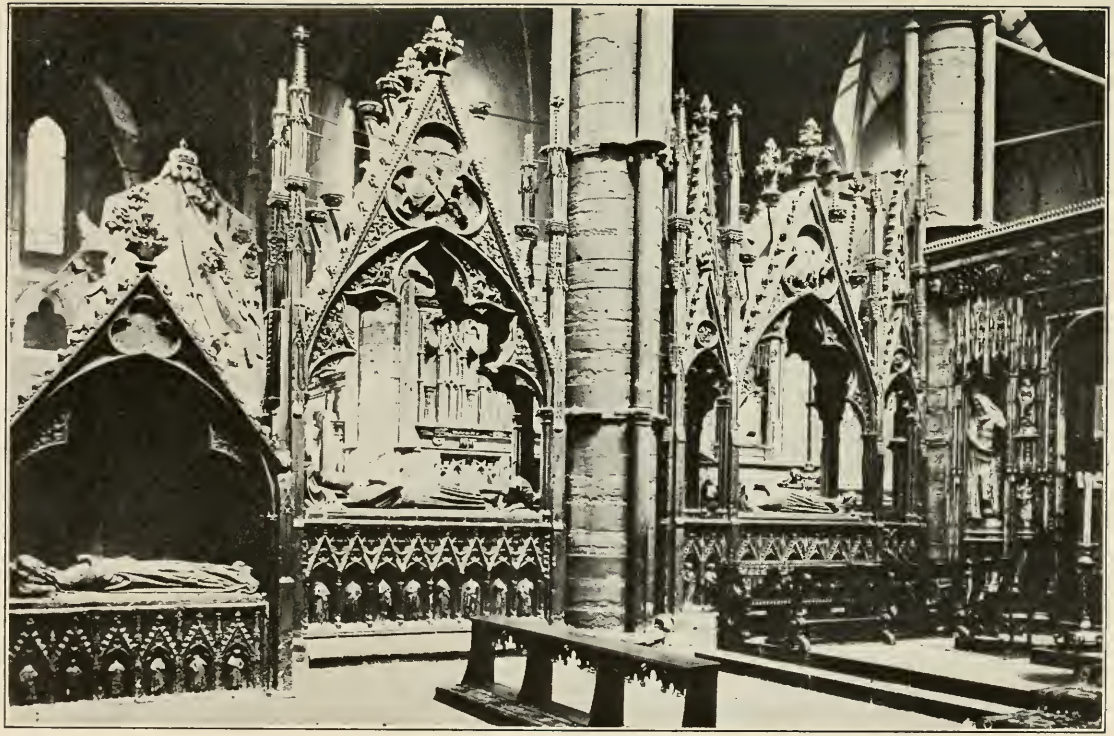
faces are youthful and were once coloured like life.

The modern reredos, designed by Scott, is rich with colour, marbles and gold, and forms part of the low fifteenth century screen occupying the entire width of the aisle. The central design is a rich mosaic by Salviati, representing The Last Supper. Beautiful tabernacle work extends above and around this group, filling the entire space between the two traceried doors which lead one on either side, to the Confessor's chapel in the rear. In the canopied niches are set marble figures, including those of Moses and David, representing statesmen and poets, the former on the north, looking towards the Statesmen's aisle, as the north transept is called, and David, with his harp, on the side nearest the south transept, or Poets' Corner: St. Peter and St. Paul stand on either side of the central group. The modern frieze contains reliefs representing scenes in the life of our Lord, thus corresponding to the frieze of the screen at the back in which scenes from the Confessor's life are portrayed. The two doors, and in general, the arrangements of the screen, are reminiscent of those at Winchester and St. Albans, though much less elaborately decorated. The sixteenth century reredos,

pictured in the Islip Roll, was surmounted by the figures of Saints Peter and Paul, while above, on what appears to be a small platform, was The Crucifixion, with Mary and John.

The three canopied Gothic Tombs under the arches on the north side of the Sanctuary are among the most beautiful in the Abbey or in England. That to the east in memory of a King's son is the largest and richest and occupies an entire bay: while the other two together occupy the westmost bay. The outer sides of the two eastern tombs are seen satisfactorily only from the ambulatory, since the public is not admitted within the Sanctuary: but the westmost must be seen from the Sanctuary steps, as the rear is concealed by a large modern monument. This is the monument of young Aveline, Countess of Lancaster, who died in 1274, wife of Henry III's second son, Edmund Crouchback. The three tombs are of very similar design and were evidently the work of the same hand, but this, the simplest and most delicate, is singularly fitting to commemorate the beautiful young bride whose marriage was the first to take place within the Abbey, and her grave, after that of Edward the Confessor, probably the first to be made here.

She was the beautiful daughter and heir-



Tombs of Aveline, Countess of Lancaster, Aymer de Valence and Edmund Crouchback

ess of William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle, was married to Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, in April, 1269, and her bridal procession was the first to pass under the noble arches of the King's new church, she being then but eighteen years of age. The King considered her a suitable match for his second son on account of her high rank, her splendid prospects—she was the richest heiress in the kingdom—and her remarkable beauty. Through her mother she received the estates of the Earl of Devonshire and the Isle of Wight. The wedding was celebrated with great pomp and solemnity, but the Prince soon departed on a crusade to the Holy Land, and before his return (some accounts say during the first year of her marriage) Aveline died. The King gave her an honourable place of burial, not in the Confessor's chapel, where were made the tombs of himself and his oldest son, but in the Sanctuary, near the high altar. As she died childless, her great possessions fell to her husband, who, after a time, married Blanche, the widowed Queen of Navarre, and with Aveline's wealth, he became the founder of the powerful house of Lancaster.

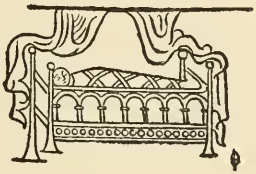
Aveline's tomb today is almost pathetically delicate and beautiful. It stands

lower than either of the two beyond it, and in size, appearance and in purity of design, even if the effigy were lacking, would suggest a youthful occupant. It is an altar tomb of brown freestone with effigy and an arched canopy with crockets and finials. It was originally open to the outer aisle, but has been walled in on the north side by a towering modern monument. The spandrils of the trefoiled arch are wrought with vines, fruit and foliage, an early example in England, of the use of natural foliage, but consistent with the advanced nature of the ornament in the transept and apsidal chapels, and not improbably carved by the same hands. A moulded trefoil decorates the pediment of the arch.

The graceful effigy lies gently and delicately on its stone couch, the small hands meekly clasped in prayer displaying beautiful rounded arms: the robe and flowing mantle are draped in graceful folds: and she wears the wimple and gorget of the period. Her feet rest against two dogs playing: the two pillows are decorated in red and gold, while angels guard her pretty head. Six small figures of "weepers" or mourners, under little arched canopies, appear on the base of the tomb, all but two now headless. The inner side of the canopy shows traces of painted vines and

grapes: and historical scenes were once represented here, and the Annunciation was painted in the trefoil at the head. The mouldings were painted red, and one bears a great star on a black ground. The canopy arch is studded with stone rosettes and has a foliage boss.

In the second canopied tomb to the east lies Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, second son of Henry III, and husband of the Countess Aveline, who died in 1296. It is the largest and richest tomb of the group of three, being that of a King's son.



PRINCE EDMUND IN HIS CRADLE. FROM AN EARLY MS.

The Earl was surnamed Crouchback, not, as was once supposed, on account of a deformity, but because of the *crouch* or cross he wore embroidered on his habit after he had vowed to make the crusade. He was said to be a popular commander, though not always successful in his military undertakings, a good friend and liberal to the church. The Earl died at Bayonne, having failed in an expedition undertaken with William de Valence, his father's half-

brother, for the defense of the English possessions in Gascogny, of disappointment and chagrin, it is said, being deserted by his soldiers whom he lacked money to pay. He directed that his body should not be taken to England until all his debts were paid, and this was accomplished the following year.

The large rich altar tomb with effigy and triple canopy was once brilliant with gilt and colour, and was probably erected by his son, Henry of Monmouth, during the closing years of the reign of Edward I. The under side of the canopy was once painted blue and studded with gold stars, simulating the sky above the quiet sleeper's face. The effigy represents the Earl in the full armour of the period, with helmet, long sword and surcoat once painted with his arms, worn over the coat of mail to protect the metal from the hot rays of an eastern sun. The legs are crossed below the knees: the position is easy and graceful: the hands are upraised in prayer: the head is supported by angels and the feet rest against a lion. A series of "weepers" or mourners appear on the base of the tomb, on the north and south sides, each figure under a crocketted arch, all wearing crowns or coronets. The painted figures on the north side, much worn away, are

TWO OF THE TEN KNIGHTS PAINTED ON CROUCHBACK'S TOMB

said to represent the Earl, his brother, Edward I, and the four barons and four earls who accompanied them to the Holy Land. The figures are well wrought and of much interest.

The beautiful canopy over the broad altar tomb has three arches, the central one much larger than the other two, and rises high above the tomb, such height being required of all mediæval tombs placed in the vicinity of the high altar in order not to obstruct the view. The principal arch has rich crockets and finials. The spandrils are carved with foliage: brackets which once supported figures of angels appear on either side. A beautiful carved

figure in bold relief of a mounted knight in full armour is seen in the trefoil which ornaments the pediment of the arch, the knight bearing a shield, the horse caparisoned, but not at speed as in the tomb to the west, but with head downcast, as if stepping slowly or standing still. The knight's eyes are open, the face is animated. The folds of the mantling on his helmet appear, resembling wings, flying at the back of his head.* The horse was painted dappled brown and white: the buttresses of the monument were richly inlaid with red and blue glass mosaic set in cement. The ground of the figure in the trefoil was of dark blue powdered with golden fleur de lis, a device much in evidence in England so long as she retained her possessions in France. Altogether, the general aspect of the tomb in its vivid and various colours must have been far other than it is today in its sombre brown stone and it is an open question whether we of the present century would have admired it as much as did the artist.

*This mantling or mantlet, such as is seen on the show helmets of the Knights of the Bath in Henry VII's chapel, was originally a silken veil intended to protect the helmet and shoulders from the dust and hot sun of an eastern climate. It was sometimes made so long as to be inconvenient and Sir John Chandos lost his life in battle through tripping on his mantlet and being run down before he could be assisted to rise.

The middle tomb in this group of three is that of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1324, the son of Henry III's half brother, William de Valence: hence cousin to Edmund Crouchback and Edward I. It is intermediate in size between the other two tombs with which it forms a harmonious group. This Earl was a tall, pale man, useful to the King in his Scotch wars, and in disposing of Piers Gaveston, having promised Edward I on his deathbed that he would rid the kingdom of this unwholesome favourite of the second Edward. The Earl was killed at a tilting match, it is said, on the occasion of his marriage festivities in honour of his third wife, Margaret, daughter of Guy de Chatillon, but it is more probable that he was assassinated or else died a natural death in France. It was this Earl who erected the beautiful enamelled tomb in St. Edmund's chapel to his father, William de Valence, Henry III's half-brother.

The effigy is that of a tall man in surcoat and chain armour, the hands upraised in prayer, a lion at his feet. Mutilated fragments of three figures appear at the head, two of them apparently angels upholding in their arms and presenting to heaven a kneeling figure which represents the soul of the dead warrior.

The beautiful canopy of a single arch is richer than that of the Countess Aveline, but less ornate than that of Crouchback: Scott considered the workmanship superior to either of the other tombs of the group. The spandrils of the arches, the crockets, finials and every detail, are exquisitely carved. A knight gallantly appears in the trefoil of the pediment of the arch, his long mantlet flying at his head. Eight "weepers" are carved in the arcade on the north side of the base of the tomb and as many on the south side, nearly all now headless, very similar in appearance to those on the other tombs of the group, and from the shields of arms above their heads are supposed to represent kindred and alliances.

The three tombs were evidently designed by the same hand and that a skillful one, but the details of Aymer's, later in date, are more carefully wrought out. Th effigies are very similar: in each the arcaded base bears a series of small figures, six in that of the Countess: eight in that of the Earl of Pembroke and ten in that of the Earl of Lancaster. The pedimented canopies are of precisely the same design, though varying in size, and the decorations are similar. The natural foliage indicates fourteenth century work and

(Drawn by Doremus L. Mills)

Plan of Westminster Abbey and of its early Environs

1. Nave.
2. Choir.
3. Sanctuary.
4. Edward the Confessor's Chapel.
5. North Transept.
6. South Transept.

6a. St. Benedict's Chapel.

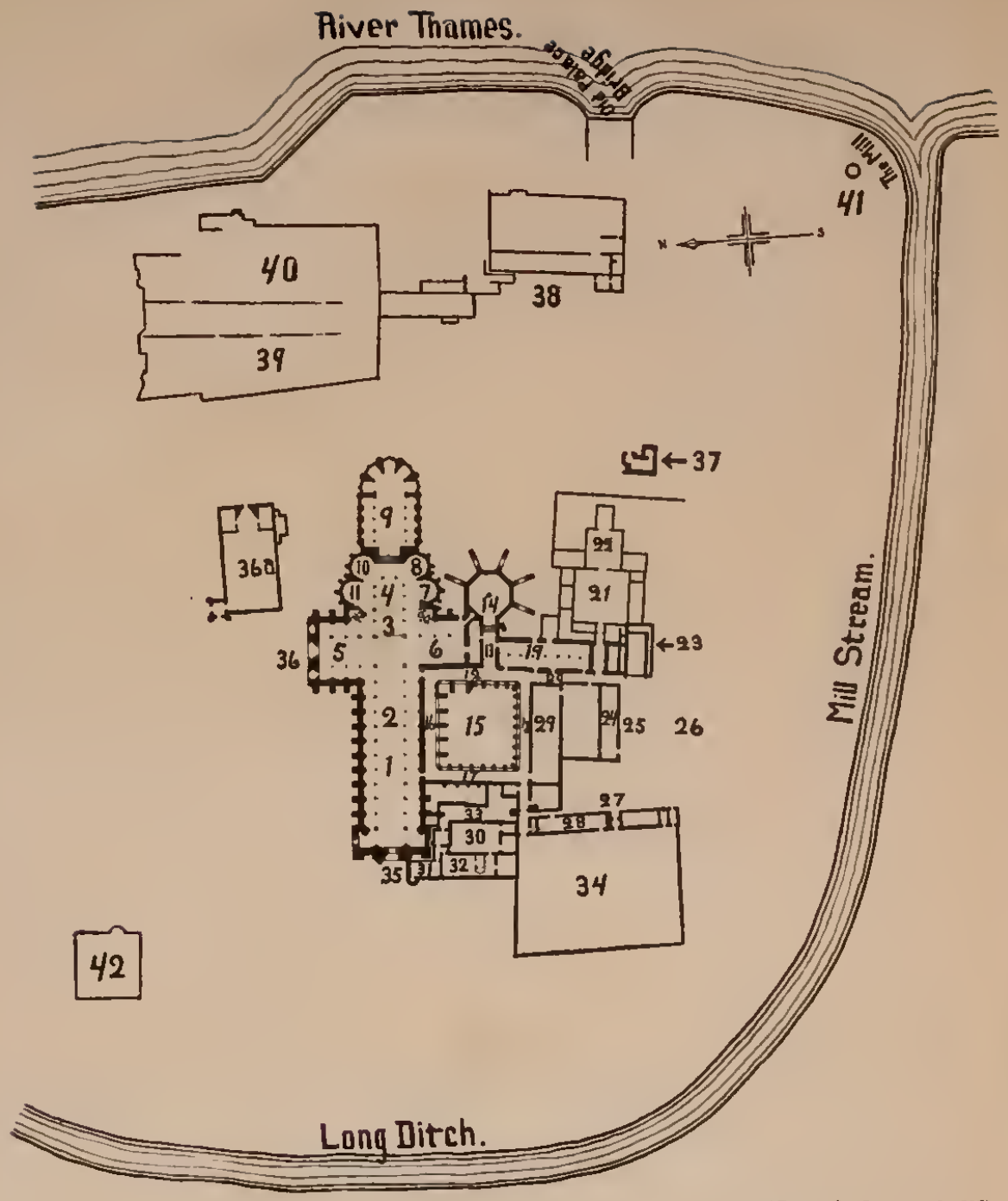
7. St. Edmund's Chapel.
8. St. Nicholas' Chapel.
9. Henry VII's Chapel.
10. St. Paul's Chapel.
11. St. John the Baptist's Chapel.

11a. Islip's Chapel.

12. East Cloister.
13. Vestibule to chapter house.
14. Chapter House.
15. Cloister Garth.
16. North Cloister.
17. West Cloister.
18. South Cloister.
19. Undercroft and Chapel of the Pyx.
20. Dark Cloister.
21. Infirmary Cloister.
22. St. Catherine's Chapel.
23. Westminster School.
24. Misericorde.
25. Ashburnham House.
26. Little Dean's Yard.
27. Blackstole Tower.
28. Cellarer's Hall.
29. Refectory (site).
30. Abbot's Courtyard.
31. Jerusalem Chamber.
32. Abbot's Refectory, now College Hall.
33. Deanery.
34. Dean's Yard.
35. West Front.
36. North Transept Entrance.

36a. St. Margaret's Church.

37. Jewel House.
38. Site of the Old Palace of Edward the Confessor.
39. Westminster Hall.
40. Houses of Parliament.
41. The Abbey Mill (site).
42. The Sanctuary Tower (site).



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42. The Sanctuary Tower (site).

probably all may be dated after the death of Aymer.

West of the Sedilia is the tomb of Anne of Cleves, who died in 1557, the fourth Queen of Henry VIII, and the only one who has a contemporary monument in any church, that of Catherine of Aragon in Peterborough cathedral being modern. The tomb is large but by no means beautiful and has an unfinished appearance. It is on the south side of the Sanctuary in the westmost bay, and is a long, low, gray Purbeck altar tomb, without canopy or effigy, though a canopy was originally intended. It is so inconspicuous that it appears to be merely a stone bench slightly ornamented with carvings.

The Lady Anne's story is very well known. She was the sister of William, Duke of Cleves, a Lutheran prince of Germany, and in 1540 came over to England with a very costly, elaborate, but (in English eyes) outlandish trousseau, to be the fourth wife of Henry VIII, after the death of the beautiful Jane Seymour. The elderly, disreputable royal tyrant, of ugly person and mean heart, was disappointed in the Dutch bride, and happily for her, within six months of their marriage, offered her a divorce, which she accepted with unflattering eagerness. Within four

weeks, the King married the unfortunate Katherine Howard. The Lady Ann outlived her two successors and the King himself, and enjoyed her freedom and alimony, also her magnificent trousseau (which she greatly admired), wearing each day for a long time a new gown, each more elaborate than the last. Her residence was chiefly in the palace of Richmond, which was granted her for life, and she entered with joyous spirits into the sports and recreations of her adopted country.

By the King's decree she was to have precedence of all ladies of the Court except his daughters and his future consort, and she found herself well-esteemed in the new country. We read of her visiting and exchanging gifts with the Princess Mary: of a visit to the Court of her stepson, Edward VI; she rode in state at Queen Mary's coronation and enjoyed the friendship of the Princess Elizabeth.

She died at her palace at Chelsea in 1557, at the age of 41 having gained the esteem of all who lived near her. Her will shows the most tender thoughtfulness for even the humblest of her dependents. She died a Roman Catholic, possibly influenced to a change from her Lutheran faith by the young Queen Mary: but in a letter

written by her brother to the Queen the year before the Lady Anne's death, he complains that his sister harbours in her family three persons, Jasper Broickhusen and his wife and one Bastard of Wylick, who "by their pernicious doctrines and marvellous impostures appear to have driven her mad," and asks Queen Mary to banish them from England.

The Queen ordered that royal honours be paid the Lady Anne at her funeral and that she should be honourably interred in the Sanctuary at Westminster Abbey. The stately obsequies are described in Machyn's Diary. The body was met at Chelsea by the Abbot and monks of Westminster, with Bishop Bonner and a long train of nobles, monks, scholars, almoners and dependents: was received at the Abbey under a black velvet canopy, and placed in a rich hearse with seven great palls, and so rested all night, with tapers burning, before the high altar. The next day, Abbot Feckenham preached "as goodly a sermon as ever was made." The grave was lined with black and into it, according to the custom at royal funerals, heralds broke their white wands and officers of the household their staves. Afterwards, mass was said by Bonner, "in his mitre," and the Abbot gave a grand dinner to all the

mourners. This funeral is of particular interest as a royal funeral conducted during the few years in which the monastery was restored under Queen Mary.

Anne of Cleves' tomb, undoubtedly erected by the Queen's orders, was designed by Theodore Haveus, a native of Cleves, who also wrought at Caius College, Cambridge, and is always spoken of as one of the earliest tombs in England on which the skull and crossbones decoration, so familiar in later monuments, was used. Had the canopy which was intended for the tomb been erected it must have been a great blemish to the beauty of the Sanctuary. The long, low altar tomb is of freestone having two pedestals at either end. The sides are carved with funeral urns, and with Renaissance panels painted black and wrought with grewsome skull and bones: also with the initials A. C.* On two of the large pillars appears a monogram enclosed in a medallion and surmounted by a crown: also the arms of Cleves. The guilloche pattern which appears in the decorations is precisely like that on the Confessor's shrine.

Another less fortunate Queen is buried in this vicinity, Anne Neville, the unhappy

*In 1865, a *bas relief,* evidently intended for this monument, was found in the revestry.

wife of Richard III, daughter of the Earl of Warwick, the King-maker: but no memorial of her exists here. She was the youthful widow of Henry VI's son and heir, who was murdered after the battle of Tewkesbury by Richard. Disguise as a menial could not protect her from the cunning search of the brutal, venomous hunchback who became Richard III. Her beloved son, Edward, born in 1474, was nine years old when Richard and Anne were crowned by Cardinal Morton, very near the spot where her grave was made. The following year, 1484, the child, idolized by both father and mother, died "an unhappy death," and from this time the young Queen's life knew neither health nor happiness. She died in 1485, and the King accorded her a very grand funeral and buried her by the high altar, near Anne of Cleves' later tomb.

A large and beautiful contemporary portrait of Richard II as a boy, which once hung in the Jerusalem Chamber, now finds place above the tomb of Anne of Cleves and is of particular interest as being the oldest contemporary portrait of an English sovereign in existence. It has been freely restored in recent years. The handsome King, son of the Black Prince and fair Joan of Kent, is here represented

as a child of eleven in the robes in which he was crowned, seated in the Coronation Chair under which rests the Stone of Scone. The boyish face has an earnest expression: the hair is well puffed out at the sides: the crown is high: the long, rich crimson coronation robe is lined and bordered with ermine and has a collar of the same: the vest is of green flowered with gold and the initials of his name: his shoes (one of which was lost off when a sportive nobleman snatched the boy up in his arms after the ceremony) are of gold powdered with pearls and had been blessed by the Pope. He bears both sceptre and orb.

The details of the painting are of much interest as typical of the art of the period. The wooden panel on which the picture is painted is six feet, eleven inches long, and three feet, seven inches broad, and is plastered over and gilt, the surface being powdered with embossed crosses and golden flowers. The white stag, the King's special emblem, as it was that of his mother, appears once on his robe below the belt, and once on the right shoulder. A picture of this King may be seen in a beautiful illuminated manuscript, Epistle of Phillippe de Mezieres, of the end of the fourteenth century, "The Epistle touching peace between Charles VI of France and

Richard II of England," now preserved and exhibited at the British Museum, in which the costume and general appearance of the King are very much like this.

The picture is said to have been painted* in or before 1396, to decorate the Abbey stalls: but if this date be correct, it must have been a reminiscent portrait, for at that time Richard had been on the throne for nearly twenty years and was no longer a child. Another portrait of this weak and handsome Prince is on the famous Wilson diptych, privately owned in England, said to have been painted on the occasion of the King's second marriage, to Isabella of France.

The worn Tapestry against which the picture is now displayed is a large and beautiful piece representing a garden scene, and had a wide border at the top and a narrow one at the bottom. It was one of the tapestries used for decoration when James II was crowned: but later was in use as scenery for the Terence Plays of the Westminster School and is ornamented with many initials and names of school boys.

The four eastern bays of the nave which form what is properly called the ritual Choir, containing the stalls for the offi-

*Lethaby.

ciating clergy and the choristers, are of the same beautiful Early English architecture and design as the Sanctuary, and were probably the last work to be completed before the death of Henry III. Indeed, the work was evidently interrupted when the lower story only, of the fifth bay west of the crossing was being constructed.

All the architectural features which have been studied in the Sanctuary are repeated here, the lofty main arcade with its diapered spandrils: the triforium with its pair of containing arches in each bay, graceful cusped tracery and diapered spandrils which impart an airy grace to the entire structure, and the lofty two-light plainly traceried windows of the clerestory. But in the eastmost clerestory window on either side there is a curious indication of a change in the workmanship, the eastern jamb being of the earlier date, and the western of that later work which was long thought to be of Edward I's time, but is now known to have been the latest of the time of Henry III.

The modern Gothic Choir Stalls are richly carved in a variety of designs, having gabled canopies with traceried heads and rich crockets and finials. They are forty-six in number, with return stalls at the east and west of the west door, richer

than the side stalls. The Dean occupies the seat on the south side of the west door: the sub-dean, the corresponding seat on the north side. The seat at the east end and on the south side is for the Lector or reader: that on the north side for the Cantor. A pew is reserved for the Dean's family: but since the funeral of James I, when the young Charles I sat in it alone, as the chief mourner for his father, it is always given up to visiting members of the royal family, other than the sovereign, when they attend the Abbey service.

In monastic days, the choir was strewn with rushes gathered from the marsh, which had a salt odour, instead of the ordinary rushes, whose moisture might be injurious to the health of the prostrate worshippers."*

The modern Pulpit near the Sanctuary railing is of Purbeck marble carved with open quatrefoils, which enframe sculptured heads of the Apostles and is enriched with roses and foliage.

*Ware's *"Consuetudines."*

CHAPTER VII

THE TRANSEPT

(Early English, 1245-1269)

THE beautiful Early English transept is a close rival of the choir in the variety, elegance and picturesque effect of its architecture. Its graceful height, and ample width, its enrichment of spandril carvings and lovely undercut mouldings, its cusped tracery, combined with the exquisite views of choir and sanctuary and opposite transept which meet the eye on every side, hold the visitor in delighted contemplation. In many great churches and cathedrals of England, as at Ely, at Winchester, at Norwich and Exeter, the old transept, long useless and never really important, is the least beautiful portion and has long been left to its plainness and decay. Restorations of nave and choir and chapels are often heard of: but the transept is rarely the subject of enrichment or additions. At Westminster, however, the fine lofty transept, with its broad aisles, very beautiful when completed in the thirteenth century, is very beautiful today. Time has robbed it of

its coloured glass; ruthlessly broken its sculptured ornaments and introduced many disfiguring monuments; but otherwise the walls bear that appearance of sumptuous, stately, self-respecting old age which does not suggest neglect or decay.

On a bright summer morning when the Abbey may be seen at its best, sit down in the transept, it scarcely matters at what point, and leaving the monuments to be studied later, enjoy on all sides some of the finest architectural views to be seen in the kingdom.

The first impression is that of noble height. The four lofty arches of the main arcade soar up so high from the pavement that a grand effect of open space is produced which reveals many a lovely vista, the arches serving to enframe them in a manner not possible if the arcades were as low as is usual in great English churches. To the left as you enter the church by the north porch is an entrancing view which includes the intersecting arches of transept, aisle and choir aisle, and the richly sculptured triforium of the Sanctuary, beyond which, in the obscure distance, the vaulting of the south ambulatory chapels may be seen. Directly in front rise the south transept walls of

the Poets' Corner, similar in design and of equal richness with the north transept, the noble south wall with its many arcadings crowned by a rose window filled with brilliantly coloured modern glass. To the right or west the picture includes the eastern arches of the ritual choir with its canopied wooden stalls.

The four arches of the main arcade of each transept, on the east and west walls, are supported on heavy round columns which from their proportions might have belonged to a late Norman church: but around these cluster, widely apart, four detached gray Purbeck shafts having two sets of rings or bands and the deeply moulded capitals and bases which were the true Early English fashion when the third Henry was building here. The stones of the great columns are delicately worn and gray, rich in play of light and shade, and their beauty, that of over six centuries' fashioning. They have looked on with steady, stony gaze while kings and queens, princes, lords and ladies, poets and statesmen have passed down the aisle on errands of joy or of sorrow, for coronation or wedding festivities, for burials and funeral pageants. The arch mouldings are finer and more delicate than the usual heavy rolls of Early English mouldings.

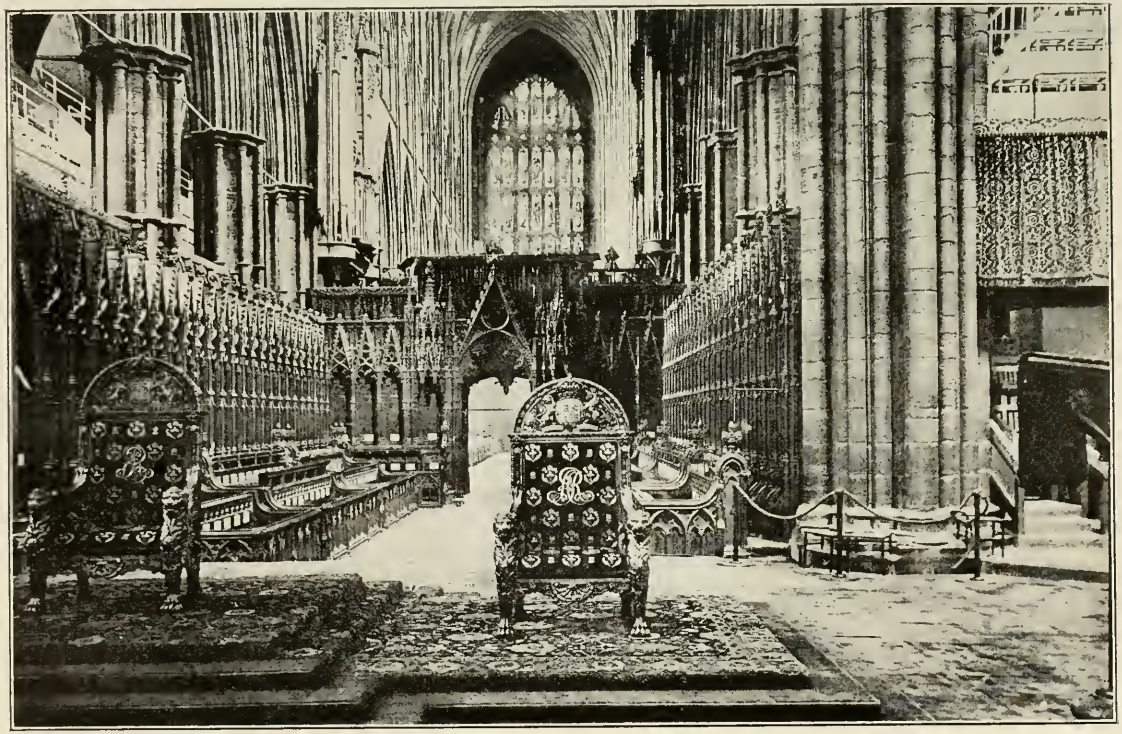
The spandrils of main arcade and triforium, as in the choir, are carved with square diaper work. The triforium repeats the design of the choir (v. p.) famed for its richness, having two large subdivided containing arches in each bay with cusped tracery and enriched moulding of undercut foliage. The clerestory windows, also like those of the choir, have plain high two-light windows with simple tracery and excellently fulfil their purpose of transmitting as much light as may be obtained in this part of smoky London.

The North transept has both east and west aisles, the former now screened off from the main aisle by large monuments; and from it projects to the east the Islip chapel, originally of Early English architecture but rebuilt in the sixteenth century by Abbot Islip to contain his tomb and since then called by his name. The South transept has an eastern aisle from which projects to the east the chapel of St. Benedict, corresponding in location to the Islip chapel, but still retaining its Early English character. The main story of the west aisle of this transept forms the east walk of the cloister and is not visible from the interior of the church: but the triforium and clerestory are open to the

transept and two bays of the former are fitted up as a Muniment room.

The bay at the crossing of the long and short arms of the cross, underneath the place of the central tower, often called the Tower bay, has an elaborate vault with ribs so many and so rich as to suggest the fan vault of a later day. The vault is elaborately painted, reproducing its original decoration, with roses and gilding. The tower arches are supported by groups of lofty, slender columns said to be wholly inadequate to the support of a large central tower, which may never have been intended. But little is understood concerning the King's plan with regard to towers: the Norman church, we know, had a very large and strong tower at this point.

The stately English Coronation rites find one of their centres of interest in this Tower bay. Here is erected a noble platform elevated by three broad steps above the pavement, and called The Theatre or dais, the central section of which is two steps higher than the rest. A rich blue velvet carpet is spread over the whole. On the highest part of the dais is set a rich gilded chair of state covered with embossed velvet, not the Coronation Chair but the temporary throne to which the king



THE TRANSEPT, ARRANGED FOR EDWARD VII'S CORONATION, WITH THRONES FOR THE KING AND QUEEN

in his splendid robes is conducted after receiving his crown in the Sanctuary just beyond. Here, surrounded by his clergy and his high officers of state, he receives the allegiance of his archbishops and bishops, beginning with the Archbishop of Canterbury, who kneels and kisses his cheek and touches his crown: then, in the same manner, the homage of the Peers, the first of whom is the Prince of Wales, each taking the oath of allegiance and fealty. Here also, on the lower section of the dais to the north of the king's chair, the queen's throne is placed and here, after taking her crowning, which follows that of the king, she is conducted by her bishops and ladies, making her obeisance as she passes to her sovereign, the king. From this theatre, the newly-crowned king is usually presented for recognition by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the great audience of his subjects, to those at the East, the West, the North and the South in turn, and according to an ancient custom, is greeted with loud cries of "Yea, Yea," to indicate their willingness to receive him as their sovereign.

On this magnificent occasion, the entire transept is seated with chairs rising in tiers to the triforium level, those in the south transept being occupied by the peers:

those in the north, at the queen's side, by the peeresses and above them are seated the members of Parliament and their wives. All the walls of both transepts, as of the entire church, are richly draped with the historic colours, deep blue and gold, and priceless carpets cover the worn pavements.

One of the most impressive incidents connected with the recent history of the Abbey occurred in this place on the morning of June 24, 1902, two days before the date fixed for the coronation of Edward VII. A rehearsal of the music and of some of the more intricate portions of the elaborate coronation ceremonial (which few then present had ever witnessed) was in progress under this Tower bay. The raised dais stood in its place: the chair of state with its rich colours and gold was ready for the king: the stone pavement was spread with its rich carpet: the clergymen most nearly associated with the coming solemn festivities were gathered and the organ was pealing its noble anticipatory anthem: when suddenly, into the midst of the solemn group a messenger came bearing the woeful, startling tidings, "The King is dangerously ill: the coronation ceremonies must be postponed." And for six weeks thereafter, all through the

June and July of that almost matchless summer, all the sumptuous furnishings and tapestries, all the magnificent robes and jewels, and crowns and diadems waited, waited breathlessly, while lines from the sickroom in Buckingham Palace were posted at the gates, at first uncertain, then hopeful and finally reassuring. And in August, the great west doors were thrown open to the long-delayed procession with a truly royal but very pale King and his beautiful Queen, and in the chairs of State, when King Edward and Queen Alexandra had been royally crowned, and tenderly welcomed after the long days of anxiety and suspense, they heard the great shouts of rapturous applause, and the *Vivats* which filled the great Abbey from nave to choir and to the height of the vaulted ceilings.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NORTH TRANSEPT, OR STATESMEN'S AISLE

"Speak no more of his renown,
Lay your earthly fancies down,
And in the vast cathedral leave him,
God accept him, Christ receive him."

TENNYSON.

SINCE the burial of the elder Pitt in this transept, it has been known as The Statesmen's Aisle, as the corresponding south arm of the transept is called The Poets' Corner. Many other statesmen who have added to England's greatness or aided her materially in councils have found burial here: and others, buried elsewhere, are here commemorated by bust or statue. All the monuments are modern, and many are life-sized white marble statues standing on high pedestals, forming a striking feature of the aisle. Here rest Chatham, Fox, Pitt, the three Cannings, Lord Palmerston and Gladstone. "In no other cemetery do so many great citizens lie within so narrow a space."*

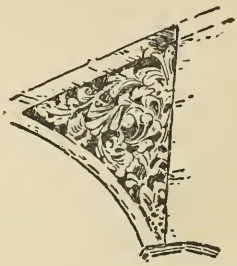
In plan, the north transept as already

*Macaulay's Essay on Chatham.

described (p. 139) consists of four lofty bays in three stages, having broad east and west aisles each partly shut off from the main aisle by the great monuments ranged along the main arcade. The west aisle is readily accessible but the east aisle can be entered only from the north choir aisle (v. p. 640). It was originally divided into three chapels by the use of screens, but only the names of the chapels remain today. Main and side aisles are closely crowded with monuments of little artistic merit, but commemorating many noble names.

The north wall has its lofty height agreeably diversified by division into five rich stages, a large rose window crowning the structure and answering to the rose window of the opposite transept. The lowest stage consists of an arcade of four unequal arches, the two central ones widest, and under these two are the doors of entrance from the street by way of the North or Solomon's Porch. These central arches are supported by round columns having moulded capitals, and stone roses are set in the hollow of the arch moulding. The spandrils of these arches retain fragments of the beautiful vines and figures, delicately executed, with which they were once enriched. In the central

spandril a man on horseback suggests the figures of mounted knights on the tombs in the Sanctuary. Directly beneath is the head of a smiling king, perhaps Henry III, whose gratification in the beautiful



A SPANDRIL

architecture of the transept must have been great. In the easternmost spandril is a fragment of a once beautiful group of three figures, one an angel with very long wings, suggesting an archangel: and two other figures, one sitting with hands on hips, and looking to the east: the middle figure youthful and beautiful, having rounded arms, and turning back to look towards the east, though both of these figures seem to be travelling westward. The angel is earnestly looking towards the east.

The second stage of the north wall consists of a delicate, graceful arcade of six equal arches, richly moulded and trefoiled, not surpassed for purity and sim-

THE NORTH TRANSEPT, LOOKING TOWARDS THE POETS' CORNER.

plicity in the Abbey. The spandrils are diapered. At the back of this stage there is a passage in the thickness of the wall. The third stage consists of six loftier, narrow, pointed windows fitted with modern glass. The shafts rest on a deeply-splayed sill, revealing the thickness of the wall. Under canopied niches at the east and west ends of this stage two figures on pedestals suggest two kings, perhaps Henry III and Edward the Confessor. The fourth stage is of elaborate design and similar to the triforium of the east and west walls, the moulded cinquefoils of the subordinate arches having lovely trefoiled cusps. A passage runs at the back of this stage. Very beautiful, deeply undercut foliage and twining vine stems appear in all the spandrils and should be examined with a glass in order to appreciate their delicacy. At the east and west admirably wrought figures of angels or acolytes are swinging censers attached to very long chains. The corbel head is a smiling old man, bearded and wearing the close cap which often indicates an architect. The fifth stage contains a rose window of good design which long ago lost its original glass.

The vaulting of the transept, as in the earlier bays of the nave, is of firebrick and

chalk, a two-colour effect being produced. The moulded ribs are decorated with a gilt line and outlined by a narrow painted border having leaf ornaments at the angles. A large ridge rib runs from north to south, and the foliage bosses are of large size.

At the head of the row of statues on the east side of the main aisle at the south, stands a complimentary statue to Sir Robert Peel (d. 1850), Home Secretary under Canning, and also during the Duke of Wellington's ministry: twice Prime Minister and especially remembered for his success in bringing about the Repeal of the Corn Laws. The statue was executed in Rome by Gibson, who refused to undertake it unless he might adopt the classical costume: the Prime Minister therefore stands, as if addressing the House, clad in a Roman toga. He is buried at Drayton Bassett with his father and mother, according to his wish.

The Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone, (d. 1898) here buried, has a noble statue to the north of Peel's. The famous Liberal leader was four times Prime Minister and a public funeral and this statue were offered by Parliament. By an express condition of his will, his body was not to be interred where that of

his loved wife might not ultimately be placed and this condition was accepted by the Dean and chapter. The body lay in state in Westminster Hall for two days and was viewed by 250,000 people. The casket, richly draped in a gold-bordered pall of white silk having *"Requiescat in Pace"* wrought in gold letters, was borne by the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII): the Duke of York (George V); the late Lord Salisbury and other men of distinction, from Westminster Hall: and at the west doorway of the Abbey stood a company of Eton boys with arms reversed, forming a Guard of Honour to their distinguished alumnus. Seated in the Dean's pew in the choir as the procession moved slowly down the aisle, were the Princess (later Queen) Alexandra, the Princess Victoria and the Princess (later Queen) Mary. The casket was placed before the steps to the Sanctuary and around it stood six lofty silver candelabra with lighted candles. The main aisles of the building, the triforium and the transepts were occupied to their utmost capacity, the House of Commons sitting in the south transept, the Lords in the north. At the close of the Committal Service, the Prince of Wales and Lord Salisbury gave tender greeting, at the graveside, to the

bereaved widow, for sixty years her husband's close companion, and the King of Arms made formal proclamation of the state of the deceased who had persistently refused to accept a title. The statue, by Brock (who wrought the bust of Longfellow in the opposite transept), shows the Minister in Parliamentary robes, one hand grasping a manuscript. The face is an excellent portrait: the eyes are open and looking directly ahead.

Two years later, in 1900, died Mrs. Catherine Gladstone, soon following her distinguished husband and was buried in his grave as he had directed, in the midst of this aisle, over whose slab the feet of thousands yearly pass.

Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Warren (d. 1752), a bold Irish sailor and a dashing personage in his day, married to an American wife, Susannah de Lancey, has a white marble monument by Roubiliac which was greatly admired in its time and Brayley speaks of the sculptor's vast talents as well displayed in its execution. It represents a stout figure of Hercules in the act of placing an inconspicuous bust of Sir Peter (realistically marked by plague) on a high pedestal, while a beautiful female figure, typifying Navigation, bearing a withered olive branch, gazes mourn-

fully on the figure.* Emblems of various sorts, an anchor, a flag, a compass, ropes, the insignia of the Order of the Bath: and a cornucopia pouring forth fruits, corn, coin, and "the fleece" adorn the monument. The inscription enumerates the admiral's virtues and concludes: "But the Almighty whom alone he feared . . . was pleased to remove him from a Life of Honour to an Eternity of Happiness. Susannah, his afflicted wife, caused this monument to be erected."

The Right Honourable Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield (d. 1881), buried by the side of his wife at Hughenden, has a stately statue of white marble, on a rich pedestal of pale grey marble, representing the famous Conservative leader, twice Prime Minister of Queen Victoria, in rich robes and mantle with Collar and George of the Garter, and was presented by Parliament. It is separated by a brief space from the statue of Gladstone, his great political opponent. A second statue of Beaconsfield, of bronze, in the small

*Sir Peter came to America in the course of his voyaging, and here, in 1744, married Miss de Lancey, bought a farm of 300 acres in Greenwich Village in New York, and built a fine residence about three hundred yards back from the Hudson, where he lived in dignity and elegance for several years. The last of his life was passed in London and he represented Westminster in Parliament. The monument was erected by his wife.

park northeast of the Abbey entrance, is annually, on his birthday in April, gayly decorated, indeed, almost concealed by yellow primroses, the Conservative emblem. At Disraeli's funeral, Queen Victoria in person placed a floral wreath on the grave of the Minister whom she had so highly esteemed.

A large monument filling the width of the next bay is to William Cavendish, the first Duke of Newcastle (d. 1676) and his second Duchess. The Duke was a loyal friend of Charles I, and was exiled and lost his fortune of nearly a million pounds in consequence of his loyalty. He caused this monument to be erected on his return from exile and died three years after his Duchess, whose inscription he wrote: "She came of a noble family, for all the Brothers were Valiant and all the Sisters Virtuous. This Duchess was a wise, wittie and learned lady which her many books do well testify. She was a most Virtuous and Loveing and careful wife and was with her Lord all the time of his banishment and miseries, and when he came home, never parted from him in his solitary retirements." The Duke's inscription is in Latin. The witty Walpole said of these two: "Of all the riders on Pegasus, there has not been a more fantas-

tic couple than His Grace and his faithful Duchess who was never off her pillion." Both effigies wear full curling wigs and coronets: the duke is in armour, with an ermined mantle, and his neckcloth is tied in a huge bow: he wears the Collar of the Order of the Garter, and holds the George in his hand. Nine large books decorate the canopy, in allusion to the literary achievements of the couple.

A group of three marble statues to the Cannings are placed by the northmost pillar on this east side of the aisle. That nearest the door is of George Canning (d. 1827), a famous statesman, a profound scholar and an accomplished orator. He had been Foreign Secretary and only four months before his death was appointed Prime Minister. The statue is by Chantrey.

The middle statue of the group is to Charles John, Earl Canning (d. 1862), son of George Canning, Governor-General and later the first Viceroy of India, an office which he held during the terrible Mutiny. Several of his fellow officers in India at that time attended his funeral.

A statue of a cousin of the two Cannings stands with this group, Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe (d. 1880, at the age of 93), for fifty years the English ambas-

sador in Turkey and other Eastern countries. The statue represents an old man with placid, thoughtful face, papers in hand, wearing the Robes and Collar of the Order of the Garter. The epitaph is by Tennyson:

"Thou third great Canning stand among our best
And noblest, now thy long day's work hath ceased,
Here silent in our Minster of the West,
Who wert the voice of England in the East."

John Hollis, Earl of Clare (d. 1711), also, by marriage, the second Duke of Newcastle, has one of the largest tombs in the Abbey in the northern bay of this aisle. We are told that the sculptor Gibbs "staked his immortality on the success of this design." The great structure occupies the entire width of the bay and towers up to the capitals of the main arcade. The half reclining effigy is in armour, delicately holds a coronet in one hand and is looking upward hopefully to the cherubs perched aloft, one holding an hourglass from which the sands have nearly run out. A large female figure representing Wisdom leans against a broken column and a figure of Sincerity is gazing at herself in a handglass.

John Bunyan (d. 1688) was honourably commemorated in 1912 by a memorial window in this transept, the first memorial of any importance in London to this

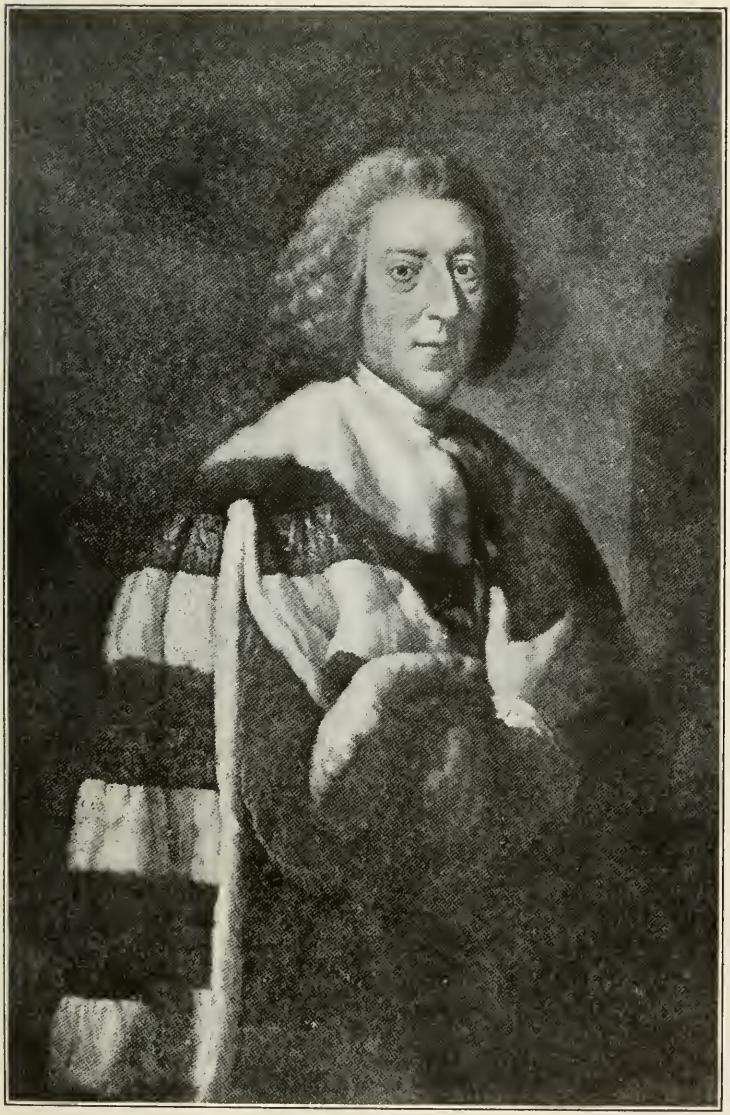
famous dreamer. Scenes from the "Pilgrim's Progress" are illustrated in the window, the cost of which ($6000) was contributed by his admirers in England, America and the Colonies. Bunyan is buried in the Bunhill Fields Cemetery in the City Road, with Isaac Watts, Defoe and the mother of the Wesleys. The dedication of the window was attended by a distinguished company, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishops Brent and Boyd Carpenter, the Mayor and Corporation of Bedford, Bunyan's native town, and Rev. Dr. MacArthur of New York. The undertaking was due to American Baptists. "Not since Livingstone was buried in 1874 has there been so catholic a service as Bunyan's in the Abbey."

A slab in the middle of this aisle marks the grave of Charles James Fox (d. 1806), a distinguished Parliamentary orator whose monument is at the west end of the nave (v. p. 667).

Henry Grattan (d. 1820), highly honoured by the Irish as a defender of their cause in Parliament, has a plain stone over his grave to the west of Fox, "whom in life he so dearly valued and near whom in death it would have been his pride to lie," and his coffin nearly touches that of Fox. Grattan's devotion to the cause of Ireland

induced him to make a painful journey to London, contrary to his physician's advice, when his last illness was upon him, in order to move certain resolutions in Parliament to preserve the connection between England and Ireland and to grant the Catholics their great privileges. But his strength failed and he died soon after. At the funeral a company of Irish children from the Roman Catholic Charities, dressed in green, were ranged at the west entrance of the Abbey.

On the South side of this middle aisle of the transept, in the northmost bay, stands a lofty marble monument by Bacon to William Pitt, the great Earl of Chatham (d. 1778), which rises thirty-three feet and cost £6000. The inscription notes that during his administration as Prime Minister "Divine Providence exalted Great Britain to an height of prosperity and glory unknown in any former age." As is well known, the great statesman opposed the granting of independence to the American Colonies and after an impassioned speech in Parliament in which he protested against "the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy" he fell back in an apoplectic seizure and died soon after. "With many faults, he stands forth among the greatest



THE EARL OF CHATHAM

From the painting by Richard Brompton in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

figures in English history." Both St. Paul's and Westminster desired the honour of giving burial to Chatham but Parliament decided in favour of Westminster, where he might lie "among the tombs of the kings," and here he was buried with distinguished honours.

Thackeray's picture of the Earl at Bath will be remembered:* "And if you and I had been alive then and strolling down Milson street, hush, we should have taken our hats off as an awful, long, lean, gaunt figure, swathed in flannels, passed by in its chair, and a livid face looked out from the window, great fierce eyes staring from under a bushy powdered wig, a terrible frown, a terrible Roman nose, and we whisper to one another, There he is! There is the great Commoner! There is Mr. Pitt."

The lofty monument, consistent with the taste of the time but to us today a wretched composition, was erected by Parliament, and even Macaulay could say that it was graven "by a cunning hand." A standing figure of the Earl with hand upraised as in Parliamentary debate, appears in a recess hollowed out at the top of a towering marble pyramid and at his feet are large female figures representing Pru-

*The Four Georges.

dence and Fortitude. A colossal figure of Britannia, eight feet high, bearing a trident, is seated on a rock in the sea; at the base and on either side and at her feet are figures representing Ocean, leaning against a dolphin; and Earth, resting against a globe, while a variety of fruits, including apples, grapes, melons, pineapples and wheat are displayed.

"Chatham sleeps near the north door of the church," wrote Macaulay, in the closing paragraph of the second essay on Chatham, " . . . and high over the venerable graves towers the stately monument . . . and from above his effigy seems still, with eagle face and outstretched arm to bid England to be of good cheer and hurl defiance at her foes. . . . And history, while, for the warning of vehement, high and daring natures she notes his many errors, will yet deliberately pronounce that among the eminent men whose bones lie near his, scarcely one has left a more stainless and none a more splendid name."

The grave of the younger Pitt, William, the son of the great Earl (d. 1806), is in the pavement near the father's monument, but his own monument is in the nave (v. p. 664). Again we look to Macaulay's great essay: "A splendid train of princes, nobles, bishops, and privy

councillors followed the son to his burial. The grave of Pitt had been made near to the spot where his great father lay, where his great rival was soon to lie. The sadness of the assistants was beyond that of ordinary mourners. For he whom they were committing to the dust had died of sorrows and anxieties of which none of the survivors could be altogether without a share." Wilberforce, who carried the banner before the hearse, described the ceremony with deep feeling. As the coffin descended into the earth, "the eagle face of Chatham from above seemed to look down with consternation into the dark house which was receiving all that remained of so much power and glory."

Lord Palmerston (d. 1865) twice Prime Minister, has a statue erected by Parliament just beyond that of Chatham. It shows the usual serious, thoughtful face of the Abbey statues, and is clad in Parliamentary robes with the Collar and George of the Garter. The Garter is represented in its usual place, on the left leg.

A colossal monument by Nollekens in memory of Three Captains, commemorates William Bayne, Lord Robert Manners and William Blair, all of whom fell in a naval engagement in the West Indies in 1782. Contrast this lurid call for

admiration and remembrance with the modest stones and simple inscriptions to Browning, Tennyson, Dickens and other men of genius buried within the church. This stately monument was erected by Parliament and has for its most prominent feature a huge figure of Neptune with a trident, sitting on a scaly sea-horse and pointing to medallion portraits of the three captains which are suspended on a rostral column and watched over by a chubby cherub. A tremendous lion, whose proportions are suited only to a park, rests his paws, in photographic attitude, on a shield bearing the Union Jack. An angel on the rostral column holds the trumpet of fame and raises a wreath over the medallions. Seaweed grows at the base of the monument.

The handsome face and delicate features of Lord Londonderry, Foreign Secretary in 1812, appear in a statue beyond the three captains.

William Murray, Earl of Mansfield (d. 1793), a Westminster scholar, has a statue by Flaxman, seated in a chair which is placed on a lofty marble pedestal and is dressed in his robes and wig as Lord Chief Justice, and as he was painted by Reynolds. On one side a tall female figure of Justice holds scales aloft: on the other, Minerva bears a large open book.

At the back is represented an agonized youth, "perhaps a condemned person." This and the statue of Sir William Follett, the famous advocate, are the only members of the modern legal profession commemorated in the Abbey.

The east aisle of this transept is now entered from the north ambulatory, the usual entrance from the main aisle being blocked up by monuments (v. p. 640).

The west aisle has in general, the architectural features of the main aisle, but is built in a single stage and nearly all its wall space is concealed by monuments. Few names of general interest or importance and no beautiful memorials are to be found here.

The north wall has been irretrievably injured by an attempt to construct a scene in India as a background for the monument of Vice-Admiral Watson (d. 1757), who in 1756 freed the English prisoners shut up in the Black Hole of Calcutta.* Four towering sculptured palm trees conceal the four delicate pillars of Henry III's beautiful architecture, and a huge shock of leaves effaces both spandrils and capitals.

The seldom-opened north door in this

*This was a small room measuring eighteen feet by fourteen, from which only twenty-three of the one hundred and forty-six who had been imprisoned here were found to be living.

aisle has on either side a very narrow lancet arch ornamented with roses, which also appear in the arch over the door itself. The clerestory stage of the north wall consists of an arcade of three lofty arches without tracery, the central much the highest, and contains a single-light window with modern glass. The richest feature of this stage is the diaper work at the east and west of the side arches and in the space above the clerestory arches.

As has been said, the entire wall space is occupied by monuments, none of which are notable as works of art, and only two, those to Warren Hastings and Richard Cobden, both buried elsewhere, recall names of wide fame. The leisurely student, however, will discover numerous points of some interest.

Warren Hastings (d. 1818), Governor-General of Bengal, one of the great modern names of England, has an inconspicuous tablet and bust placed here by his wife, above the lower monuments on the east wall, in striking contrast to the showy memorials of the less known dead represented in the Abbey. The face and head are those of a good old man and the inscription states that "he lived for many years in dignified retirement, beloved and revered by all who knew him . . . he

died in peace in the eighty-sixth year of his age." It was while standing under the bust of Hastings that Dean Milman suggested to Macaulay the idea of his splendid essay on the great proconsul.

"With all his faults, and they were neither few nor small . . . only one cemetery was worthy to contain his remains. In that temple of silence and reconciliation, where the enmities of twenty generations lie buried in the Great Abbey which has, during many ages, afforded a quiet resting-place to those whose minds and bodies have been shattered by the contentions of the Great Hall, the dust of the illustrious accused should have mingled with that of the illustrious accusers. That was not to be. He had preserved and extended an Empire: he had founded a polity: he had administered government and war with more than the capacity of a Richelieu. He had been attacked by the most formidable of enemies that ever sought the destruction of a single victim: and over that combination after a struggle of ten years, he had triumphed. He had at length gone down to his grave in the fulness of age, in peace after so many troubles: in honour after so much obloquy . . . tried by both extremes of fortunes and never disturbed by either."

CHAPTER IX

THE SOUTH TRANSEPT, OR POETS' CORNER

(Early English, 1245-1269)

"Tread softly here, the sacredest of tombs
Are those that hold your poets: kings and queens
Are facile accidents of Time and Chance;
But he who, for the darkling mass of men
Is on the wing of heavenly thought upborne
To finer ether, and becomes a voice
For all voiceless, God anointed him:
His name shall be a star, his grave, a shrine."

THOMAS BAILEY ALDRICH.

No part of the Abbey is so interesting to the larger number of visitors as this transept which is called the Poets' Corner. The crowds gaze idly at the commanding statues of statesmen in the opposite transept and soon pass on: they look again with curious and admiring eyes on the magnificent tombs of the kings and queens in the eastern chapels: but here in the transept corner which contains no

splendid marble monuments, where the sculptured memorials are less ornate than in any other aisle, and where only a bust or a plain slab in the pavement brings to mind names dear from association, names beloved in the home, names whose words rise to heart and lip in hours of sorrow or of gladness, here they love to linger. Not a flower is placed on the tomb of Henry VII, of Edward III or of the mighty Elizabeth by the traveller of today: but on the simple stones which cover the graves of Tennyson, of Browning, of Dickens, and on the bust of Longfellow, such tributes of affection are often seen.

The name Poets' Corner was first applied to the southeast corner of the east aisle after England had laid her great poet Spenser there to rest, near her greater, but at that time less-appreciated, Chaucer. Since then a noble group representing the literary genius of England for centuries has filled the aisle and overflowed into the main part of the transept to which the name is now applied. Here rest Tennyson, Browning, Dickens, Macaulay, Handel and Sheridan: Beaumont and Johnson, Dryden, Prior, Gay and Campbell. Addison and Ben Jonson, buried elsewhere in the Abbey, are here commemorated: and here the nation has

delighted to honour many who sleep less magnificently in quiet country churchyards or in distant lands, but whose names belong to the world. Such are Shakespeare and Milton: Scott, Burns and Goldsmith, Coleridge, Thackeray, Southey, Grey and Ruskin.

The South Wall of this south transept is almost the counterpart of the opposite north transept wall. It is built in four stages and has a large rose window at the top. The lowest arcade of the wall has five sharply pointed arches instead of the four low arches of the north transept. The second stage consists of an arcade of six arches, having stairs at the west. The third stage has six high narrow windows of deep splay, all fitted with modern glass showing full-length figures under rich canopies. The fourth stage is the triforium proper, having diapered spandrils and sculptured figures of much beauty: the outermost seem to be censing angels: of the two central figures one is seated and bears a staff in an outstretched hand; the other is standing and is headless.

The Rose window on this wall was fitted with new glass in 1902, in memory of the Duke of Westminster.

There is an east aisle to this transept

A Censing Angel in the Transept

but there is no west aisle in the main story, because its place is occupied by the east walk of the cloister: but the triforium and clerestory of the west aisle appear, the floor of the former being the roof of the cloister walk. The two northmost bays of the triforium are fitted up for use as a muniment room.

The West Wall of this transept has been called the Historical or Learned side, and contains few memorials of poets but many of historians and essayists whose tablets, busts and monuments entirely conceal the beautiful wall arcade.

Two literary friends and historians, George Grote (d. 1871), and Connop Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's (d. 1875), have fine white marble busts at the north end of this west wall, placed by the reverent care of Dean Stanley. They were students together at Charterhouse and each wrote a history of Greece without the knowledge of the other. Thirlwall was a precocious youth who read Latin at three, Greek at four, and whose first book was published when he was eleven. He was a profound historical scholar and an industrious author. In his last days he was blind and partly paralyzed. Dean Stanley preached his funeral sermon. Grote toiled on diligently,

an old man of seventy-five, and was still busy when the hand of death was upon him. Charles Sumner wrote to his widow: "When the electric cable flashed across the Atlantic the news of this great loss, the whole of this vast continent vibrated with sympathy for you." The two friends were buried in one grave: the faces of the busts are good portraits.

A stiff little demi-figure on a tall pedestal to the south represents Camden, the famous antiquary, who died in 1623. He was a self-made man and had been a Blue Coat boy, graduated at Oxford, where he was a friend of Sir Philip Sidney, and became Headmaster of the Westminster School when Ben Jonson was a pupil there. His famous "Britannia" was begun when he was twenty-five and completed ten years later. After a time, he gave up teaching in order to devote himself to antiquarian research but continued to live in the Dean's Yard and diverted himself by meditating among the Abbey tombs of which he wrote the earliest connected account.

After his death, his body lay in state for several days and was interred with great solemnity, a long procession of mourners following it to the grave. Among his distinguished friends were Bishop Godwin, Archbishop Ussher and

Sir Henry Spelman. The neat little figure on the monument is represented wearing a mantle over a closely buttoned coat, holding his gloves primly in one hand while the other rests on his famous "Britannia." The face is fine and strong.

David Garrick, the actor (d. 1779), has a full-length marble figure standing, in an affected attitude, above the bust of Camden, and is represented drawing aside a fringed drapery to reveal a small medallion of Shakespeare, whose beauties the sculptor supposes to have been revealed to the world by this actor. The doggerel inscription bears out the idea:

"A Shakespeare rose, then, to expand his fame,
Wide o'er the breathing world a Garrick came."

Figures representing Comedy and Tragedy sit on either side at the actor's feet. Lamb called the monument "a farrago of nonsense and false thoughts."

Garrick died at No. 5 Adelphi Terrace. At his stately funeral the streets were thronged with people, the line of carriages extending from The Strand to the Abbey. Among the pallbearers were the Duke of Devonshire, the Lords Camden, Ossory, Spencer and Palmerston: and Burke, Johnson, Fox and the Literary Club were among the mourners. Dr. Johnson, the friend of Garrick's early

years when the two young men came down from Lichfield to London to seek their fortunes, stood by the open grave with tears coursing down his cheeks. Mrs. Garrick, who had been in youth a famous dancer from Vienna, "Mlle. Violette," lived on for over forty years at her pleasant home in The Strand, entertaining Johnson and Boswell, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mrs. Boscawen and other friends, ever talking of her "dear Davy," and was buried in this same grave. Queen Charlotte was her familiar friend. "It was no dishonour to her," says Leigh Hunt, "that her constitution was too good for her melancholy."

A large and conspicuous sarcophagus with a statue, pen in hand, is in memory of John Earnest Grabe (d. 1711), a Prussian scholar, renowned for his knowledge of Oriental lore, who, dissatisfied with the Lutheran church in his own land, came to live in London and was here ordained by Bishop Lloyd. Among his literary works was a valuable edition of the Septuagint.

Another learned foreign scholar, Isaac Casaubon (d. 1614), lies near by, a famous Genevan, but naturalized and long resident in England, and a prebendary of Canterbury. He was called the most

View into the South Transept from the Sanctuary

Showing Anne of Cleve's Tomb, and above it the portrait of Richard II.

learned man of his time in Europe. This sentence occurs in his diary: "O God of my salvation and my studies, without which life to me is not life." He was received with much respect in England, which he called "the Isle of the blessed." Bishop Andrews of Ely and Dean Overall of St. Paul's were especially cordial to him and James I, who granted him a pension of £300, "kept him talking for hours, always on theology." He died at the age of fifty-five, worn out with study. His tablet of black and white marble is adorned with floral designs and with books: but by far its most interesting feature is the rudely scratched monogram "I W 1658," said to have been carved here by Isaac Walton, friend of Casaubon's son, Meric (and possibly named for the father), when he visited this grave. "This," says Stanley, "is the earliest of those unhappy inscriptions of the names of visitors which have since defaced so many a sacred space in the Abbey": but whatever may be thought of Walton's taste or Stanley's criticism, it is undoubtedly true that the Abbey contains few greater treasures than these initials, wrought with affection and reverence for the dead by the hand of one of the great masters of the English language.

A stone in the pavement near by is inscribed "O rare Sir William Davenant." It marks a grave in which Thomas May (d. 1792), the Scotch architect, known was buried during the Commonwealth. Clarendon says that May espoused Cromwell's cause in disgust after unsuccessfully competing with "the wild cavalier, Sir William Davenant" for the laureateship. May's body was disinterred at the Restoration when those of Cromwell and his generals were disinterred in the Abbey by the King's orders: and by a curious fate, his rival (d. 1668), was buried in the grave thus vacated.

Near the grave of Wyatt, the architect, is that of the famous Robert Adam (d. 1792), the Scotch architect, known to us today by his choice classical designs in house furniture, which are eagerly sought by collectors. He was one of four brothers, all architects, much esteemed in their day: the four gave the name *Adelphi* (brothers) to a handsome set of buildings which they erected on The Strand, and three of its streets, John, Robert and Adam still preserve their memory. Two of the brothers were noted for the furniture they designed especially for the houses which they built, and which was characterized by elegance

of proportion and simplicity of design. Robert was the most famous of the four and was the friend of Hume and Adam Smith. Among the pallbearers at his funeral were the Earl of Lauderdale and the Duke of Buccleuch.

Isaac Barrow (d. 1677), chaplain to Charles II and conspicuous as a scientist and a divine, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, has a bust on this wall. As a mathematician, he was second only to his distinguished pupil, Newton.

There is a white marble bust of Lord Macaulay, the great historian and essayist, who died in 1859, on the south pillar of the second bay of this aisle, and his grave is beneath a blue marble slab in the pavement, with the inscription, "His body is buried in peace but his name liveth forevermore." The bust shows the large forehead, overhanging brows and facile mouth of the usual portraits. The great man died three days after Christmas, while quietly sitting in his library chair with a magazine open before him. His death came soon after his much-loved sister and her family had removed to India. "The prospect of separation from one with whom he had lived in close and uninterrupted companionship since his childhood . . . a prospect darkened by

the thought that his last hour would surely come when she was thousands of miles away* weighed heavily on Macaulay's sinking health. He endured it manfully but his spirits never recovered the blow."

The story of the affectionate brother forcing himself to read, write or occupy his mind in any way in order to divert his thoughts from his loss is deeply pathetic. He was buried in the Abbey, on a bright January morning with a beautiful sunrise. Among his pallbearers were the Duke of Argyll, Lord John Russell, Lord Stanhope, Bishop Wilberforce and Dean Milman, who met in the Jerusalem Chamber. The whole service was solemn and impressive, befitting the man and the occasion. Some of the most poetical thoughts ever expressed concerning the Abbey came from Macaulay's pen.

A marble statue of the poet Addison (d. 1719), buried in Henry VII's chapel is fittingly placed in this aisle. Macaulay describes his funeral. The body after lying in state in the Jerusalem Chamber, was brought into the Abbey at dead of night, according to the custom of the day, and the procession moved solemnly by torchlight, down the long aisle, past the Con-

*Trevelyan.

fessor's tomb, and the tombs of the Plantagenets to the great chapel. The Westminster scholars with their white tapers, attended, in memory of the poet's connection with their school. The statue, tardily erected a century after Addison's death, shows the poet with the mild face and mirth-loving mouth familiar to us from his pictures, and was copied from portraits in the Kitcat collection and in Queen's College. The poet is dressed in flowing robes, grasps a roll of parchment and books are by his side. The Nine Muses with their emblems are sculptured around the base of the pedestal. Macaulay wrote of this monument: "It represents him as we can conceive him, clad in his dressing-gown and freed from his wig, stepping from his parlour in Chelsea into his trim little garden, with the account of "The Everlasting Club," or "The Loves of Hilpa and Shalum" just finished for the next day's *Spectator* in his hand.

Richard Hakluyt, the geographer (d. 1616), a Westminster scholar whose early intense interest in voyages and discoveries led him to read eagerly everything that he could find on these subjects, one of the promoters of the South Virginia Colony, is buried in this aisle but without memorial. His chief works were

"Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America," and "Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation," written in order to controvert French criticism of English discoveries. Froude called the latter "the prose epic of the modern English nation." Hakluyt became a prebendary of Westminster. He translated de Sola's "Travels" under the title "Virginia Richly Valued."

The grave and monument of Handel (d. 1759, aet. 74), are in the south bay of this aisle. Handel first came to England in 1710, and spent the greater part of the last fifty years of his life here. He received an annuity of £2000 from Queen Anne and later the same sum in addition from George I, and was appointed instructor of the daughters of the Princess of Wales and composer of the Court. On the death of Queen Caroline he wrote the beautiful anthem, "The Ways of Zion Do Mourn." Nearly all his great oratorios were composed in England, "The Messiah" in 1741. Though impetuous and often rough in speech, Handel was of a deeply religious nature and during the last years of his life, attended public prayers twice daily. While writing "The Messiah" he was often in tears and at the Hallelujah

Chorus he said: "I did think I did see all heaven open before me and the great God himself." When the Bishop sent him words for the anthem to be composed for the coronation of George II, Handel took offence, thinking it implied that he was ignorant of Holy Scripture. "I have read my Bible very well," he said, "and shall chuse for myself." He bequeathed the the manuscript of "The Messiah" to the Foundling Asylum in London, where it may still be seen.

He was taken ill after a performance of his greatest oratorio at Covent Garden and died a week later, on Easter Eve, April 14, at his home, now 25 Brook Street. He had wished to breathe his last on Good Friday, in hopes, as he said, of meeting his dear Lord on the day of his resurrection. The funeral, which was to have been private, was attended by nearly three thousand presons. Handel's great monument was in accordance with the taste of the period and was made by Roubiliac. It is set in a niche hollowed out in the wall and represents the composer's unwieldy figure, the face modelled from a death mask, standing with a scroll open at his solo in "The Messiah," "I know that my Redeemer Liveth." A marble pipe organ fills up the background

and an angel sitting on heavy marble clouds plays a harp to which Handel seems listening. Above is an inscription relating to the Handel Festival in the Abbey on the centennial of the composer's birth, in 1784. "In the presence of George III, the music of Handel was rendered by a band of 525 vocal and instrumental performers. It seemed to elevate the soul above the skies." On this occasion the western part of the church from the entrance to the choir was fitted up as a musical chapel. "Thrones and seats for the royal family and for the archbishops and bishops were placed at the east end. The orchestra was at the west end, the seats ascending regularly to a height of forty feet from the base of the pillars and was terminated by a magnificent organ. Every species of instrument capable of producing an effect in this spacious edifice and the best vocal talent were employed."

Jenny Lind Goldschmidt, "the Swedish nightingale," who died in England in 1889, has a white and grey marble tablet with portrait head, below the monument of Handel, whose music she interpreted with almost perfect appreciation. On the border of the tablet is inscribed a line of the solo which she sang with a charm

amounting to inspiration, "I Know That My Redeemer Liveth," and below is a harp encircled by a wreath of bay. In 1852 she was happily married to Otto Goldschmidt, who became a British subject, and in 1858 they decided to make England their home. She died at her cottage in Malvern Hills, after great suffering patiently endured.

In the pavement of this bay is the grave of Charles Dickens, who died at Gadshill, near Rochester, in 1870. He had wished to be buried in the quiet little churchyard at Shorne: the dean and chapter of Rochester cathedral begged that their church might be honoured by his burial, "but a louder voice, the voice of the English nation, came from Westminster Abbey and the family agreed." In his will Dickens gave directions for his funeral which were exactly followed.

"I direct that my name be inscribed in plain English letters on my tomb. I conjure my friends on no account to make me the subject of any monumental memorial or testimonial whatever. I rest my claim to the remembrance of my country on my published works: and to the remembrance of my friends on their experience of me in addition thereto. . . . I commit my soul to the mercy of God through our

Lord Jesus Christ: and I exhort my dear children humbly to guide themselves by the teaching of the New Testament in its broad spirit and to put no faith in any man's narrow construction of its letter."

In accordance with his wish the coffin was of plain oak and only the immediate family and friends with the clergy remained in the great edifice when the doors were closed after the entrance of the procession. "Our small group," the daughter says, "in that great space seemed to make the beautiful words of our beautiful burial service even more than usually solemn and touching. There was none of the usual ghastly accompaniment on an English funeral which my father strongly objected to. Nothing so grand or so touching could have accompanied it as the stillness and the silence of that vast church. . . . There was no chanting, no intoning, but between the prayers the organ played in a low key an appropriate accompaniment. The service concluded, the coffin was adorned with flowers by the hands of his most loved relatives. Fern leaves and roses were ranged about the head: a chaplet of camelias at the feet and white and red roses were spread about the lid. The sides of the grave were lined with black cloth, but it was not

difficult to see that the foot of Handel's coffin nearly touched the head of that of my father. He loved music and Handel was to him a mighty master."

Later in the day and for many days thereafter, hundreds of mourners flocked to the open grave, filling the deep vault with flowers and adding the tribute of tears. His is one of the few tombs in the Abbey which seems never to be forgotten. In her little memorial volume, his daughter writes: "Every year on the ninth of June and on Christmas Day, we find other flowers strewn by unknown hands in that spot so sacred to us: and every year beautiful, bright-coloured leaves are sent to us from across the Atlantic to be placed with our own flowers on that dear grave."

A large heavy monument on the south wall commemorates John, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, who died in 1743, a nobleman much esteemed in his day, buried in Henry VII's chapel. Readers of "The Heart of Midlothian" will remember that it was this Duke who introduces Jeanie Deans to Queen Caroline at Richmond Park. "He is very dear to the hearts of his countrymen," says Jeanie Deans' father, "and one who pleads the cause of the poor and those who have none to help them." Behind the lofty monument is

the staircase leading up to the Monks' Dormitory passage.

Two names of great men who need no monument to perpetuate their fame appear on memorial tablets east of the Argyll monument. A marble medallion to Sir Walter Scott (d. 1833) showing the kindly, serious face of the great novelist, was placed here in 1897. The bust is draped in a plaid confined by a cairngorm and is a replica of one by Chantrey at Abbotsford. At the unveiling of the medallion, Hon. John Hay, then American ambassador to England, said: "I doubt if anywhere his writings have had a more loving welcome than in America. The books a boy reads are those most ardently admired and longest remembered: and America revelled in Scott when the country was young. I have heard from my father, a pioneer of Kentucky that in the early days of this century men would saddle their horses and ride from all the neighbouring counties to the principal post-town of the region when a new novel by the author of 'Waverley' was expected."

A medallion and monument to Oliver Goldsmith (d. 1774) appears over the door to the chapel of St. Faith, the design and the location due to Sir Joshua Reyn-

olds. Books, a comic mask and laurel branches are grouped around the medallion. The Latin inscription by Dr. Johnson is of the pompous sort which its author deemed suitable for the Abbey, but is placed so high that few can read it. "In everything that he said or did, good nature was predominant . . . in speech, pompous . . . in conversation, elegant and graceful. The love of his associates, fidelity of his friends and the veneration of his readers raised this monument to his memory." Goldsmith was buried in The Temple churchyard.*

On the south wall is a bronze medallion enclosed within a wreath of bronze to John Ruskin, who died in 1900. Burial within the Abbey was offered for this famous writer, but was not accepted by his relatives and he lies at his home in Cockermouth.

On the left of the door to St. Faith's chapel is a large monument of black and white marble to the poet, John Gay (d. 1732), with a medallion from which a cherub is removing drapery. The face is

*Goldsmith and Johnson had one day been looking at the tombs in the Poets' Corner and Johnson quoted a line from Ovid: *"Forsitan et nostrum miscebitur istis."* "Perchance, some day, our names may mix with theirs."

affable, round, full, boyish, indolent: the mobile mouth, level brows, full eyes and the slouch hat worn rakishly suggest a faithful presentment of this eighteenth century poet. The monument was erected by the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry, who, in his later years offered the poet a home, and who, says the inscription, "loved this excellent person living and regret him dead." The Duchess was a somewhat too ardent advocate of the poet's interests and was dismissed from Court for soliciting subscriptions to one of his books within the precincts of St. James. Pope's epitaph describes him as in wit a man, in simplicity, a child; "the warmest friend, the gentlest companion and the most benevolent of men." Various emblems are grouped around the monument, among them a syrinx, a musical instrument made of six pipes of different lengths bound together, in allusion to the variety of Gay's productions. On the pedestal is inscribed, by his own request, his famous couplet, sent in a flippant letter to Pope.

> "Life is a jest and all things show it,
> I thought so once, but now I know it."

Nicholas Rowe, poet laureate (d. 1718), has a large monument with laurel-crowned bust in the second bay east of the door to St. Faith's chapel, showing the fine

delicate features of the friend of Pope, to whom two lines of his epitaph are attributed.

> "Peace to thy gentle shade, and endless rest,
> Blest in thy genius, in thy love, too, blest."

A large figure of his widow, overwhelmed with grief, is seated by the bust, against which she leans heavily. "But," says Miss Bradley, "she disconcerted the author of the epitaph by marrying again shortly." The daughter, Charlotte, who died a young bride, is commemorated by a medallion suspended on a pyramid over the bust.

A short section of wall partitions off the southmost bay of the central aisle from the east aisle of this transept, and against the partition the altar of St. Blaise formerly stood. Several monuments are located here.

James Thomson (d. 1748), author of "The Seasons," has a white marble monument consisting of a heavy square pedestal supported on brackets, with a figure of the poet in Roman toga and sandals, leaning against the pedestal. A Genius points to a bas relief of The Seasons with their emblems, carved on the pedestal, and offers a laurel wreath to the poet.

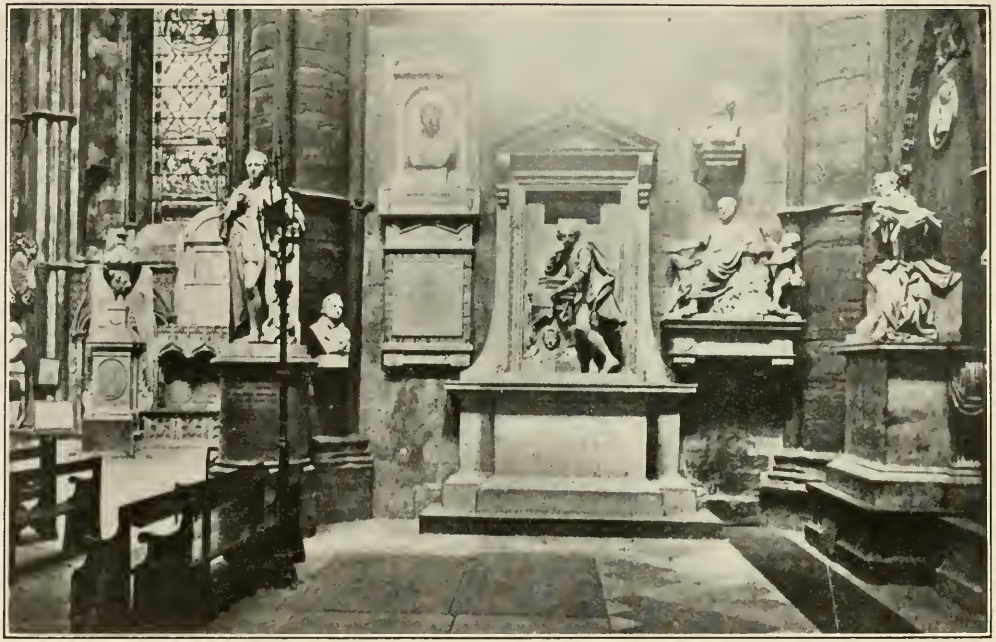
A white marble bust of Burns (d. 1796) above Thomson's monument, was

erected at public expense, by shilling contributions to which people of Scotland, of high and low degree contributed, and was unveiled by Lord Rosebery in 1885. The poet is represented in the gay and happy mood so familiar in his portraits, and which so well became his handsome features.

To Shakespeare (d. 1616) a monument was erected here in 1740, and the expense of it met by benefit performances at Drury Lane and Covent Garden theatres. A life-size statue of the poet is represented leaning on a pile of books which rest on a lofty ornamented pedestal. One hand points to a scroll on the pedestal which bears the exquisite lines from "The Tempest":

> "The cloud capped towers, the gorgeous palaces
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
> And like this insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind."

The face is that familiar to us: the costume, that of the period, with a short mantle. On the angles of the pedestal are three crowned heads those of Richard III and Henry V, of whom he wrote, and Elizabeth, his patron. A bay wreath, daggers and a mask also appear, and on a tablet at the back of the monument is the inscription *Amor publicus posuit.* The



MONUMENTS TO SHAKESPEARE, THOMSON, CAMPBELL AND BUSTS OF BURNS, COLERIDGE AND SOUTHEY.

statue was considered so successful that it was copied for use in Leicester Square and at Chalk Farm.

Mrs. Hannah Pritchard (d. 1768), a famous actress of her day, has a memorial tablet of white and coloured marbles in this aisle. A woman of blameless life, she was the greatest Lady Macbeth of the time but candidly confessed that she had never read the play throughout. Campbell wrote of her "large, speaking eyes, which she half shut with so much archness in comedy, and of the graceful features and spirited mien that could put new life in tragedy." Next to Siddons, who had majesty, she was probably the most beautiful woman that ever trod the English stage.

Here is a fine bust of Southey, a Westminster scholar, poet laureate to Queen Victoria, who died in 1843 and sleeps in the beautiful churchyard of St. Crosthwaite at Keswick, where he made his home with the other Lake Poets.

A noble bust of Coleridge, who died in 1834, was presented by Dr. Mercer, an American admirer of the poet, in 1885, and was unveiled by James Russell Lowell. It is placed on a pillar at the end of this south bay: the pose is admirable, the look, uplifted. Wordsworth said that many

men of his age had done wonderful things but that Coleridge was the only wonderful man he knew. Coleridge wrote his own epitaph, which was never used: the concluding lines are:

"Mercy for praise . . . to be forgiven for fame
. . .
He asked, and hoped through Christ. Do thou the same."

An inscription on the site of the old altar of St. Blaise records the burial in the pavement of Owen Tudor, son of the "handsome Kate," Henry V's queen by her second marriage to a Welsh gentleman: the son became a monk of this Abbey and here died and was buried: also of Nicholas Litlington, a provident Abbot of Westminster, the reputed son of Edward III, builder of the Jerusalem Chamber and of numerous other conventual buildings, who died in 1386: and William Benson, the last Abbot of Westminster and its first Dean, who died in 1549. The stone was inscribed through Dean Stanley's care.

The poet Campbell died at Boulogne in 1844, and a year later his body was brought here for interment. His monument has a high pedestal and a life-size statue in which he appears in the robes of his office as Lord Rector of Glasgow University, and shows a fine face with thin, compressed lips: he holds a book and a

manuscript. At the base are seen rolls of parchment, a lyre and a laurel wreath. The noble inscription, from "The Last Man," is probably the best that could be selected from his poems for this purpose:

> "This spirit shall return to Him
> Who gave its heavenly spark,
> Yet think not, sun, it shall be dim,
> When thou thyself art dark.
> No, it shall live again and shine
> In bliss unknown to beams of thine,
> By Him recalled to breath,
> Who, captive, led captivity,
> Who robbed the grave of victory
> And took the sting from death."

A noble company of sleepers rest beneath the pavement of the main aisle of this transept. Not all have monuments on its wall but here are buried Garrick, Handel, Macaulay and Campbell.

Dr. Samuel Johnson, who died in 1784, is buried close by his early friend, Garrick, and within a few feet of his deadly enemy, the poet James Macpherson, author of "Ossian," whose body was brought here from Inverness. Leigh Hunt says of Dr. Johnson: "One thing he did, perhaps, beyond any man in England before or since; he advanced by the powers of his conversation, the strictness of his veracity and the respect he exacted towards his presence, what may be called the personal dignity of literature, and has assisted men with whom he little thought of co-operat-

ing in settling the claims of truth and beneficence before all others." Concerning Johnson's generosity, Mrs. Thrale tells us that in his rooms at Bolt Court many sick and sorrowing found a sure retreat from all the evils whence his little income could secure them and that while he commonly spent the middle of the week with the Thrales, "he kept his numerous family in Fleet Street upon a settled allowance: but returned to them every Saturday to give them three good dinners and his company, treating them with the same or perhaps more ceremonious civility than he would have done by as many people of fashion, making the Holy Scriptures thus the rule of his conduct."

The body of Sir Henry Irving, the well-known actor and manager, who died in 1905, was cremated and the ashes deposited under a slab near that of Dr. Johnson. Though an old man, he died in the midst of his labours, while touring in the provinces, appearing in his favourite roles.

Buried here is Richard Brinsley Sheridan, who died in 1816, "equally the delight of society and the grace of literature . . . a bold reprover of the selfish spirit of party and throughout a period fruitful of able men and trying circumstances, the

most popular specimen, in the British Senate, of polite consistency, intrepidity and honour." A long funeral train followed him to burial. He never liked to be called a dramatic writer, "and would have protested loudly* against being buried in the Poets' Corner, which was his aversion, and would have preferred to be placed near Fox." However, his "School for Scandal" and "The Rivals" are likely to preserve his memory better than his statesmanship.

A very small stone to a very large and very old man, Thomas Parr, who died in 1635 at the age of 152 years, may be seen under the benches a little way down the main aisle of the transept on the left as you come from the crossing. The stone records the fact that the old man lived in the reigns of ten kings, from Edward IV to Charles I. The slab is only twenty-nine inches long for this notable but by no means (except for his age) remarkable man. He was known as the Old, Old, Very Old Man. He died in London, whither he had been brought by Lord Arundel, and was for some time exhibited at the Queen's Head in The Strand. His portrait was painted when he was 140 years old by Rubens, and his complexion

*Lord Thanet.

was then like a girl's. The autopsy revealed a remarkably healthy body, and that the probable cause of his death was the change from the fresh air and plain food of the country to that of London.

Dame Mary Steele, the second wife of Richard Steele, the "dearest Prue" whom he met at the funeral of his first wife, died in 1718 and is buried near here, but without a memorial. A series of four hundred letters written to her by Steele is preserved in the British Museum. In the earlier correspondence he calls her his Charmer and Inspirer: later, she is the Ruler and Absolute Governor. Steele was undeniably erratic in his ways, and, says one, "must have been gey ill to live with."

CHAPTER X

THE SOUTH TRANSEPT
(Continued)

The East aisle of the south transept contains four of the greatest poets buried in the Abbey, Chaucer, Spenser, Browning and Tennyson, and is the aisle to which the name Poets' Corner was first applied.

The architectural features of the aisle are, in general, those of the main transept. Much of the beautiful diaper work and sculptured figure work of the wall arcade in the main stage has been ruthlessly hacked away in order to admit disfiguring monuments: but some portions remain on the east wall and on the south are fragments of carving begun but left incomplete. Some good corbels also remain.

The south wall is built in three stages: the lowest repeating the graceful arcade of three trefoiled arches contained under a rather broad principal arch: and above are two corbels, one representing a small, prim angel with folded hands.

The triforium wall has a blank arcade

at the back and is carved in two planes with a passage between. In the third stage is a small, two-light window with deeply splayed sill and its mouldings are many and rich.

A modern memorial window to Chaucer and one to Edward the Confessor enrich the east wall.

The chapel of St. Blaize in the middle aisle of this transept had its altar built against a partition between the southmost bay and the east aisle, as we have seen. On the east side of this partition wall are tablets to Charles de St. Denis, Seigneur de St. Evremond (d. 1703) a famous Normandy nobleman exiled in England, a polite writer and wit of Charles II's court: and to Granville Sharp (d. 1813), grandson of an Archbishop of York, a pioneer opponent of the slave trade. The inscription on his tablet thus concludes: "The reader who suspects this lengthy epitaph to be partial or diffuse is counselled that it is not Panegyric but History." On one side of the medallion is a relief of a negro slave in chains: on the other, a benevolent looking lion gazing down on two fat lambs who are nestling confidently near.

Matthew Prior, the poet (d. 1721), was an ardent admirer of Spenser and his request to be buried at the feet of that

poet was granted. The most interesting feature of the large monument by Rysbrack is the fine bust, wrought by the French sculptor, Antoine Coysevox, a gift to the poet from Louis XIV when Prior was Plenipotentiary at the French Court. On the sarcophagus are represented Thalia, the Muse of Poetry, and Clio, the Muse of History, the latter with a clasped book, probably suggesting "The Account of My Own Times," on which Prior was engaged at the time of his death. He was Secretary of State for Ireland and engaged in the negotiations at the Treaty of Ryswick. Prior composed his own epitaph but Dean Atterbury considered it impious and assured him that it should never be used so long as he was in office: and a long Latin epitaph, by Dr. Friend, Headmaster of the Westminster School when Prior was a pupil there, was substituted. The monument cost £500, left by the poet in his will, "for this last piece of human vanity."

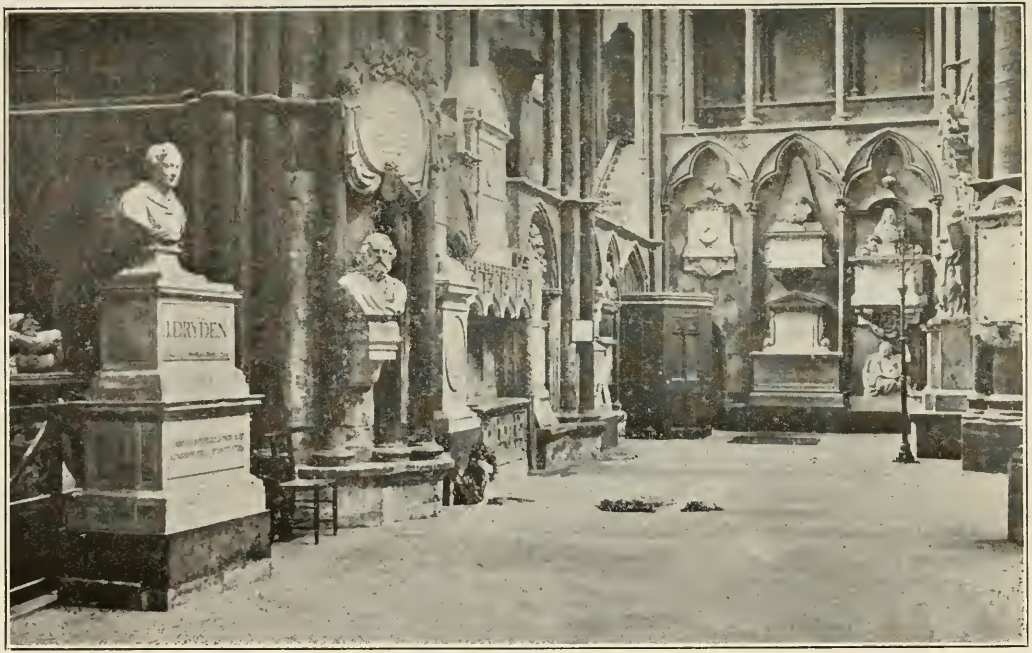
Thomas Shadwell, Poet Laureate of William III and Mary (d. 1692), buried at Chelsea, has a tablet and bust showing a full, round face, the head crowned with bay. He was the hated rival of Dryden, who also sleeps in this aisle, displaced by Queen Mary in favour of Shadwell. He is the "Og" of Dryden's "Absalom and

Achitopel" and the subject of some of that poet's bitterest lines:

> "Others to some faint meaning make pretence
> But Shadwell never deviates into sense."

William Mason, the poet, the friend of Grey (d. 1797), has a marble tablet on the wall south of Prior's, on which the relief of a female figure representing Poetry is weeping over the smug features of Mason's medallion. The clasp of her robe bears a Pegasus. The Latin epitaph describes the poet as *"culto, casto, pio."*

John Milton (d. 1674), buried at St. Giles, Cripplegate, has a monument by Rysbrack on the south wall, but it was not erected till 1737. As Latin Secretary to the Council of the Commonwealth, the name of Milton was long held as anathema by the loyal Chapter of the Abbey, and not until Dean Wilcock's time was any acknowledgement of his genius permitted within the church. Even so late as 1710, Dean Sprat would not allow a casual mention of the Puritan poet's name on his nephew's epitaph, considering it pollution. The monument was put up by Auditor Benson, Surveyor General to George I, an ardent admirer of Milton's poetry. Of the twelve lines in the epitaph, four are devoted to the poet, six to the Auditor and two to the sculptor. The monument con-



Monuments to Spenser, Milton, Jonson, Butler, Grey, Chaucer, Dryden and Longfellow; graves of Browning and Tennyson

sists of a lofty marble slab and a bust of white marble showing the serious, even sad face, with long head and flowing hair. At the base of the bust is a lyre and a serpent with the Apple of Knowledge in his mouth.

The poet Thomas Grey (d. 1771), author of "The Elegy in a Country Churchyard," is buried at Stoke Pogis. He is remembered here by a medallion portrait held by a figure representing the Lyric Muse which is pointing upward to Milton's bust. The portrait is considered excellent. The epitaph was written by Grey's friend the poet Mason:

"No more the Grecian Muse unrivalled reigns,
To Britain let the nations homage pay,
She felt a Homer's fire in Milton's strains,
A Pindar's rapture in the lyre of Grey."

Samuel Butler (d. 1680), the author of "Hudibras," has a monument here but is buried elsewhere. The son of a Worcestershire farmer, his best-known poem appeared anonymously when he was fifty years of age. It speedily received the favour of Charles II and his court, but the King's favour though lavishly expressed and resulting in fame and pleasure to the poet, brought with it no substantial benefit. Butler had previously achieved some reputation as an artist and had painted Cromwell's head from life. One

of Cromwell's generals, Sir Samuel Luke, was the original of Hudibras, "a knight as errant as ere was." So fond of the poem was the pleasure-loving King that it was said:

> "He never ate nor drank nor slept,
> But Hudibras still near him kept,
> Nor would he go to church or so,
> But Hudibras must with him go."

Butler is described as a short, thick-set man, having a mass of sorrel hair: a man of serene and sound judgment and a good fellow. He died in great poverty and an unsuccessful attempt was made to secure burial for him in the Abbey by his friend, Longueville, a generous Bencher of the Inner Temple, but there was no one to second the appeal and no money for the Abbey burial fee. His body was taken to St. Paul's, Covent Garden, and there interred by Longueville's kindness. The monument, with tablet and bust, was erected in 1721, by John Barber, an appreciative Lord Mayor of London, a printer by trade. The epitaph, translated, contains the name of the donor and gives as a reason for the tomb, "in order that he who lacked almost everything while living, might not, in death, lack a tomb."

Edmund Spenser (d. 1598), Poet Laureate to Queen Elizabeth, "the poet of

poets," has a plain tomb, near which he is buried. The original grey marble tomb fell to decay and this, a copy, replaced it in 1778. The epitaph, translated, reads: "Here lies (expecting the second coming of our Saviour, Jesus Christ) the body of Edmund Spenser, the prince of poets in his time, whose divine spirit needs no other witness than the works which he left behind him." The poet, whose home was in Ireland in his later years, had come to London as bearer of official dispatches and died a month later, at his lodging in King Street, Westminster. The story that he died for lack of bread and that he refused money sent him by Essex has no foundation whatever. As a state messenger and having a Laureate's pension (equal to £400 of our money), and his income as sheriff, a state of abject poverty is hardly probable. Spenser was a little man, and wore "short hair, little bands and cuffs." His illness must have been brief and sharp. His wife, Elizabeth Boyle, a cultivated woman of high mental endowment, was with him at the last. Camden tells us that his funeral was attended by a great company of nobles and poets, the latter including Beaumont, Fletcher, Ben Jonson, Marlowe, and probably Shakespeare (Spenser's "Pleas-

ant Willy"), each throwing into the open grave, according to the custom, their mournful elegies and the pens which had written them. "What a grave," says Stanley, " in which the pen of Shakespeare may be mouldering."

Spenser had asked to be buried near Chaucer and his wish was granted. Queen Elizabeth ordered a noble monument for her Laureate but the order was intercepted and the money embezzled by an avaricious courtier. In 1620, a monument of grey marble was put up by Ann Clifford, Countess of Dorchester, and this has been restored or replaced by Pembroke College, Spenser's alma mater.

A little low plain door under a plain decayed arch in this angle, leads to the crypt of the chapter house (not shown) and to the triforium stairs. Note the nails studding the door and the old hinges.

Ben Jonson, Poet Laureate to James I and Charles I, was born in Westminster, died in 1637 and is buried in the north nave aisle, but has a tablet over this door in the Poets' Corner. The medallion is by Rysbrack. Jonson had experienced life as a bricklayer, working for his stepfather with a trowel in one hand and a copy of Horace in the other: as a soldier, student, instructor to Sir Walter Raleigh's

son, as an actor, a dramatist, and finally Poet Laureate. Three pendent masks on the tablet allude to the variety of his poetic talents. The original gravestone, with the inscription, "O rare Ben Jonson," is in the wall of the north nave aisle near his grave, and this in the transept is a copy of it. The bust shows a jovial, rather full face, acute features and sunken eyes.

A door in the east wall on the left opens out to the green around the chapter house and is an excellent place from which to study the exterior of the east part of the Abbey. The walk leads on to the street and forms a third entrance to the church, one much prized by late comers to Sunday services.

Michael Drayton (d. 1631) has a black marble slab with bust and decorations of coloured marbles on the east wall north of the outer door. The excellent epitaph, said to have been written by Ben Jonson, proclaims him "a memorable poet of this age who exchanged his laurell for a Crowne of Glory." The face has a broad mouth, thick lips, and a high round forehead crowned with bay. On the sides of the monument appear the poet's arms, Pegasus *volant* in the midst of tears: and for a crest, the cap of Mercury within the beams of the sun.

Barton Booth (d. 1733), the actor, at nine a pupil at the Westminster School under the famous Busby, an ancestor of the American family of this name, has a monument on this wall. He was intended for the Church but won immediate success on the stage.

A modern window in this east wall was dedicated to St. Edward the Confessor in 1903, the gift of a citizen of Westminster. The two full size canopied figures represent the saint and St. John the Evangelist, and below are pictures representing scenes in the Confessor's life. Figures of various English sovereigns, saints and ecclesiastics appear in the borders.

A medallion tablet to a nephew of Milton, John Phillips (d. 1708), author of "The Splendid Shilling" and "Cyder," represents the poet under a luxuriant growth of apple trees, in allusion to his once famous poem, and in the midst of the branches is a label bearing the inscription *"Honor erit huic quoque pomo."* Dean Sprat prohibited an epitaph intended for this monument because it contained Milton's name, saying that the Abbey should not be polluted by the name of a Republican.

Geoffrey Chaucer (d. 1400), perhaps the most honored name of a poet within

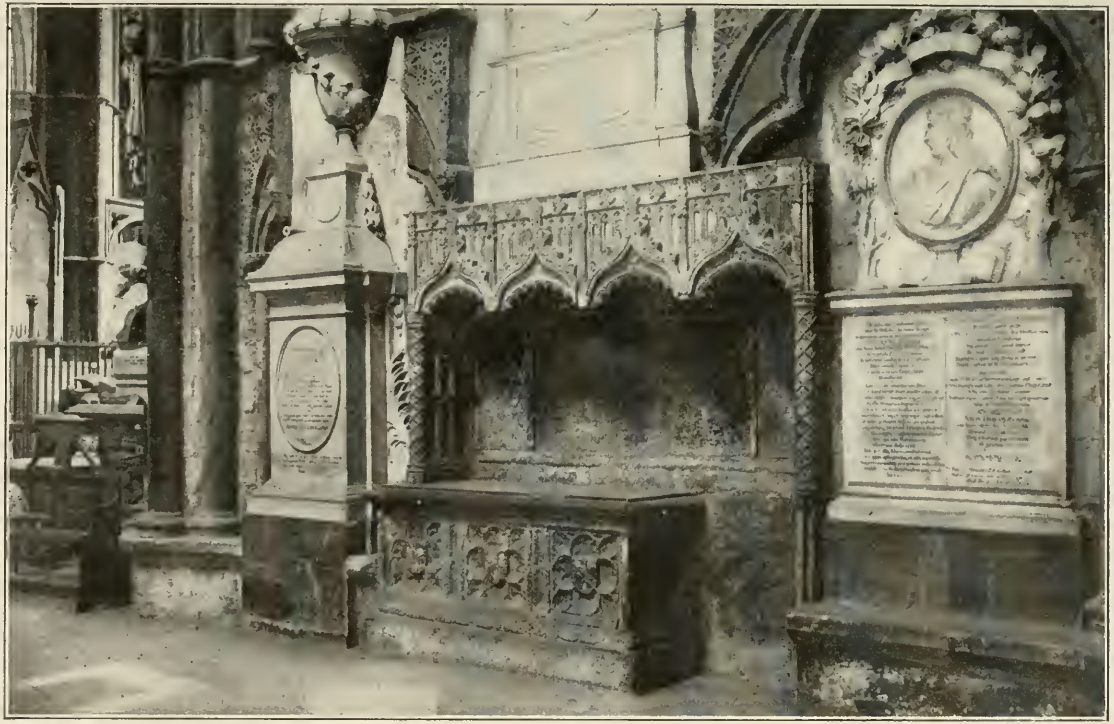
the church walls, lies buried in this aisle in the noble company of Spenser, Browning and Tennyson, "enough almost to make passengers' feet move metrically who go over the place where so much poetical dust is interred," was Fuller's comment, while yet Spenser and Dryden were the only poets yet placed near Chaucer's side. The great poet was not, however, buried here on account of his genius. London was his birthplace, "the city that is to me so dear and sweet in which I was birthgrown," he says. His life was passed in the brilliant atmosphere of the courts of Edward III and Richard II, and he had first served as a page in the Royal household and later as private ambassador to Florence, Genoa and Flanders. He was married to the Flemish Lady Philippa Roet, sister to John of Gaunt's third wife, Catherine Swynford. He was learned in all the languages and literatures of his time, and had conversed with Petrarch and perhaps with Boccaccio and Froissart. It is difficult to realize that, following this favoured life of the court and the literary world, Chaucer, in his seventy-first year, occupied no loftier position than Clerk of the Royal Works in the palaces of Windsor and Westminster, and that when he came to live in London

in 1399, he took a lease of a small tenement abutting on the Lady chapel of the Abbey and here died almost alone and unthought of. The lease of the house still exists. It was made out for fifty-three years, "or less if he died sooner," and he lived only ten months thereafter, dying in October of 1400. At the last, in his great anguish, he is said to have repeated the words of his own "Good Counsel," closing with the lines:

> "Here is not home, here is but wilderness,
> Forth, pilgrim: forth, O beast, out of thy stall!
> Look up on high and thank the God of all,
> Control thy lust; and let thy spirit thee lead;
> And Truth thee shall deliver: 'tis no dread."

The lines may have been inspired by the loneliness of these last months. The Westminster Precincts were not then as now, crowded upon by the hurrying London throngs. Monks were living comfortably in St. Peter's monastery and expected the church to stand as it then stood, the choirs to sing their masses, prayers to be said and candles to burn at the many altars for the souls of the dead, "perpetually," according to the terms of the various wills of the period.

In his official capacity, Chaucer would constantly be passing in and out of the Abbey, a familiar figure to Abbot Colchester and his monks. Within the old



Chaucer's Tomb

cloister garth today, on a fine May morning, many pink daisies of England are upspringing to delight the heart. The daisy was Chaucer's favourite flower, and one likes to think that in that last springtime of his life, while monks and novices were pacing along these old stone walks, or while the sounds of the *Te Deum* and the *Dona Nobis* were sweetening the air, the old poet may have come often to the cloister

> "To see this flower against the sunrise spread
> . . . . . .
> That blissful sight softeneth all my sorrow.
> And down on knees anon right I me set,
> And as I could, this freshe flower I grette,
> Kneeling always till it unclosed was
> Upon the small and soft and sweete gras."

The poet was buried in the Abbey either on account of his official position or else because it was conveniently near the place where he died. The only memorial that existed of him for many years was a tablet of lead, briefly inscribed and hung on a pillar, through the kindness, it is said, of Caxton, who printed some of Chaucer's works. But in the time of Edward VI, c. 1555, Nicholas Brigham, an Oxford man and a great admirer of Chaucer's poems, himself a poet of some ability, caused this beautiful Gothic tomb to be erected and the poet's body removed to it. Later, the original stone that had covered

his grave was cut up to repair the pavement.

The old worn grey altar tomb with canopy is now thought to have been wrought by Nicholas Stone, a famous statuary in his day, the maker of many beautiful monuments, and that it was not made for Chaucer, but bought from some of the city churches dismantled at this time. The beautiful wall arcade was cruelly mutilated to make room for it. The tomb has traceried sides, a flat arcaded canopy of four arches and at the foot an altar place where a chantry priest might offer prayers for the dead. A full length portrait, taken from the beautiful miniature in Occleve's *De Regimine Principium,* the best and probably the only genuine portrait that remains to us, was once painted on the wall at the back of the tomb but this has long since disappeared. An inscription in gilt letters can be traced with some difficulty, the last words being, *"Aerumnarum requies mors."* Much that is beautiful still remains of the old tomb, the tracery and arms in the base, the twisted pendants, the crocketted arches, the panelling, the rose decorations of the canopy, and the reticulated pattern on the small columns. The panels end very abruptly and are not alike on the two

sides. On the south of the central panel was a second figure.

Chaucer was comely, says Occleve, with a broad forehead, small eyes ever looking down and a temper at once gay, modest and grave.

> "His inkhorn at his side he wore
> And in his hand he bore a book,
> Thus did the ancient poet look."

A modern memorial window to the poet, directly over his tomb contains six medallions set in pattern work, the subjects including The Canterbury Pilgrims: Chaucer, with others, receiving a commission in Genoa, in 1372, and their reception by the Doge: and in the two upper compartments, The Lady of the Leafe, in white robes with her attendants: and The Lady of the Flower in green. In the tracery appear the portraits of the poet, Edward III and his queen: Gower and John of Gaunt: Wickliffe and Strode.

Side by side, in the pavement at the foot of Chaucer's monument are fittingly placed the graves of Browning and of Tennyson. When Chaucer was buried here, there was scarcely a tomb to dispute his right to the entire aisle: but when these two later great poets died the aisle was so thronged that their graves had to be cut out of the solid rock.

A curious red porphyry slab is inscribed with the name and the date of Browning's death at Venice, December 12, 1889. He had desired to be buried in the place of his death: "If in Italy, with his wife: in England, with his mother: in France, with his father." But in Florence, where his wife rests, no more interments in the English cemetery were allowed. Venice begged that he might remain with her, but while a final effort was being made for a grave at Florence, a message came from the Dean of Westminster offering interment in the Abbey. A private service was held at Venice. The Abbey was filled with sincere mourners. With the great and noble, many of them young, who honoured themselves in showing honour to this Christian poet and philosopher, came many humble friends, including some Lambeth artisans and working-women, who threw laurel sprays before the hearse. At the centennial celebration of his birth in 1912, representatives of Browning societies from various countries, including America, visited the Poets' Corner with their floral offerings to mark their remembrance of one whose noble lines, rich in spirituality, have cheered and strengthened thousands of human hearts. Mrs. Browning's poem,

"What Would We Give to Our Beloved," was sung at the funeral.

Tennyson (d. 1892), "one of the light-bearers of the world," has his grave in the pavement close by that of Browning, his slab simply inscribed with his name and dates. The story of the last hours of his life is so typical of the beautiful spirit of this wonderful master of poetry, and is so fittingly told by his son, that no apology is needed for inserting it here: "He tried to read from his favourite 'Cymbeline,' but could not, and exclaimed, 'I have opened it,' possibly referring to one of his last poems of which he was fond:

'Fear not thou the hidden purpose of the Power
which alone is great,
Nor the myriad world, His shadow, and the silent
Opener of the Gate.'

"He then spoke his last words, a farewell blessing to my mother and myself. For the next hours, the full moon flooded the room and the quiet landscape outside with light: and we watched in solemn stillness. He was quite restful, and as he was passing away, I spoke over him his own prayer, 'God accept him, Christ receive him,' because I knew he would have wished it. . . . We placed 'Cymbeline' with him, and a laurel wreath from Virgil's tomb and wreaths of roses, the flower

which he loved above all other flowers, and some of his Alexandrinian laurel, the poets' laurel. A carriage belonging to the family, made beautiful with moss and scarlet cardinal flower, draped with the pall woven by working-women of the North and embroidered by the cottagers of Keswick, bore him away. We covered him with the wreaths and crosses of flowers sent from all parts of Great Britain. A faithful coachman, over thirty years in the family, led the horse, while the family, villagers and school children followed by sunset and starlight."

In deference to the poet's dislike of plumes and mourning trappings, the body was removed from Waterloo station in a plain carriage, was covered over with the Union Jack, and rested for the night in the chapel of St. Faith. The funeral was at noon the next day. Among the pall-bearers were Lord Roseberry, Lord Salisbury, Principal Jowett of Balliol, Lecky, Froude and Lowell, then United States Minister. A great throng of sincere mourners filled the Abbey. The nave was lined by men from the Balaclava Light Brigade, whose exploits the poet had immortalized in his poem, "Half a league, half a league, half a league onward," and by boys from the Gordon

Home. The poet's own beautiful hymns were sung, "Crossing the Bar" and "Silent Voices," the melody of one written by Lady Tennyson at the poet's special request: and at the conclusion of the service, his favourite hymn, "Holy, Holy, Holy."

"Next to Robert Browning, and in front of Chaucer's monument, my father was laid: and for weeks after the funeral multitudes passed by the new-made grave in a never-ceasing procession." Against a pillar by the grave has been placed the well-known bust of the poet executed in 1857.

There is a monument to the kindly poet, Abraham Cowley (d. 1667), just beyond that of Chaucer, described in his epitaph by his biographer, Dean Sprat, as "the Pindar, Horace and Virgil of England." A tall brown stone pedestal is crowned by an urn wreathed with laurel, and the fire proceeding from the urn is supposed to represent "the glory acquired by his writings." The inventor of the Pindaric Ode, immortalized by Grey and Dryden, Cowley was ever a child at heart and his mind was much "in books and bowers and the sequestered places of thought." To the last he lamented that he had not realized the people he found

there. Evelyn wrote in his Diary: "Went to the funeral of Mr. Cowley . . . that incomparable poet and virtuous man, my very deare friend, whose corpse . . . was conveyed to Westminster Abbey in a hearse with six horses and all funeral decency, neere an hundred coaches of noblemen and persons of quality following." He had been chaplain to Queen Henrietta Maria; and her son, Charles II, observed that Mr. Cowley had not left a better man in England. He was buried near Spenser, whose "Faery Queen" he had read before he was twelve years old and which "filled his head with such chimes of verses as never since left ringing there."

A white marble bust of the poet Longfellow stands against a pillar at the north end of this bay, on a grey marble pedestal. It was erected in 1884 and bears the inscription: "This bust was placed among the memorials of the poets of England by the English admirers of an American poet." Flowers are often left by the monument, sometimes in the lapel of the coat, by the loving hands of compatriots. The face is a beautiful and faithful portrait. Dickens wrote concerning Longfellow's visit to London: "Nothing can surpass the respect paid to Longfellow

here. He is everywhere received and courted and finds the workingmen at least as well acquainted with his books as the classes socially above them."

Dryden (d. 1700), Poet Laureate to Charles II and James II, has a bust on a lofty marble pedestal in the northmost bay of this aisle, replacing an earlier monument. The face is delicate and thoughtful, sweet and serene. He died in Gerard street, Soho, "severely harassed by poverty." He was a pupil of the famous Dr. Busby at Westminster School: his reputation as a poet, in his own day, is said to have equalled Spenser's contemporary fame.

Francis Beaumont, the dramatic poet (d. 1618), so much of whose work was written in conjunction with Fletcher that the two are almost invariably named together, is buried in this aisle with his brother, Sir John Beaumont (d. 1627). He is said to have died of overwork: "so dearly hast thou bought thy precious lines." He lived in Southwark and has a memorial window to his memory in its cathedral.

Three once famous men, headmasters of Westminster School are buried near the west bay of the Sanctuary at the north of this aisle: Dr. Busby (d. 1695), a severe

but excellent headmaster and a prebendary of Westminster, the remembrance of whose stern discipline is said to have caused his old scholars to turn pale when they approached the lofty monument on which his effigy reclines:* Dr. Robert South (d. 1716), a pupil of Busby also a prebendary of Westminster and headmaster of the School, and Dr. William Vincent (d. 1815), pupil, headmaster, and later Dean of Westminster; but the latter has no monument.

The Chapel of St. Faith, or the Revestry, opening from the south wall of this transept by an old panelled door, was originally used as a vestry or robing-room, probably for those officiating at special functions, such as the consecration of priests. It is now open throughout the day for private devotions and is also used for early services. In such vestries it was customary to consecrate an altar where prayers might be said while a prelate was being solemnly vested before some important service in the church beyond and where occasionally mass was said. The revestry of Westminster

*Addison makes Sir Roger de Coverly exclaim before this monument: "Dr. Busby!—a great man. He whipped my grandfather! A very great man! I should have gone to him myself if I had not been a blockhead. A very great man!"

Abbey is usually called by the name of the altar consecrated, at the east end, to St. Faith, and has been used for various purposes besides that of a robing-room. While the Abbey was undergoing rearrangement necessary before the coronation of Edward VII and of George V, no use of the church for religious services being possible for several weeks, morning prayers were read in this quaint Early English chapel of the little maiden saint, to which access was then obtained from the chapter house vestibule. Here, the night before his burial in the Poets' Corner, the body of Tennyson rested. Here, in 1873, as a tablet on the wall indicates, the body of Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio, who died at Florence, rested during Easter week and was then removed to America.

Though an intimate and structural part of the church itself, forming a southern aisle of the south transept, and a part of Henry III's building, the small, plain, quiet old stone chamber appears to have an atmosphere of its own, quite apart from the splendid memories and monuments of the great church, and to those who come here often for its unpretending services or for private devotion, St. Faith's becomes a beautiful chamber of peace.

It lies parallel with the vestibule of the chapter house in the east cloister, into which it has a doorway in the south wall. In the west wall, at the triforium level, there is a stone passage, or rather an open gallery, running above the east cloister, communicating with the old dormitory of the monks by way of a stone bridge, seen on the exterior from the cloister, and a small stone stairway leads from the triforium level down into the south transept through a small door, now hidden from view on the transept side by the Duke of Argyll's monument. This formed the monks' night entrance to the church.

St. Faith, to whom the altar was dedicated, was a maiden martyr of Aquitaine, only thirteen years of age, living in the third century, who, refusing to sacrifice to the gods at the command of the Emperor Decius, was cruelly beaten with rods, cast on a brazen bed of flame and finally beheaded. While she was undergoing torture, her good bishop, Caprasius, who had fled to the mountains with a little band of Christians, had a vision of the little saint in heaven, wearing a crown of glittering stones, and saw a dove descending and resting on the child's head, while a dew falling from its wings quenched the flames. Her sweet courage and constancy brought many

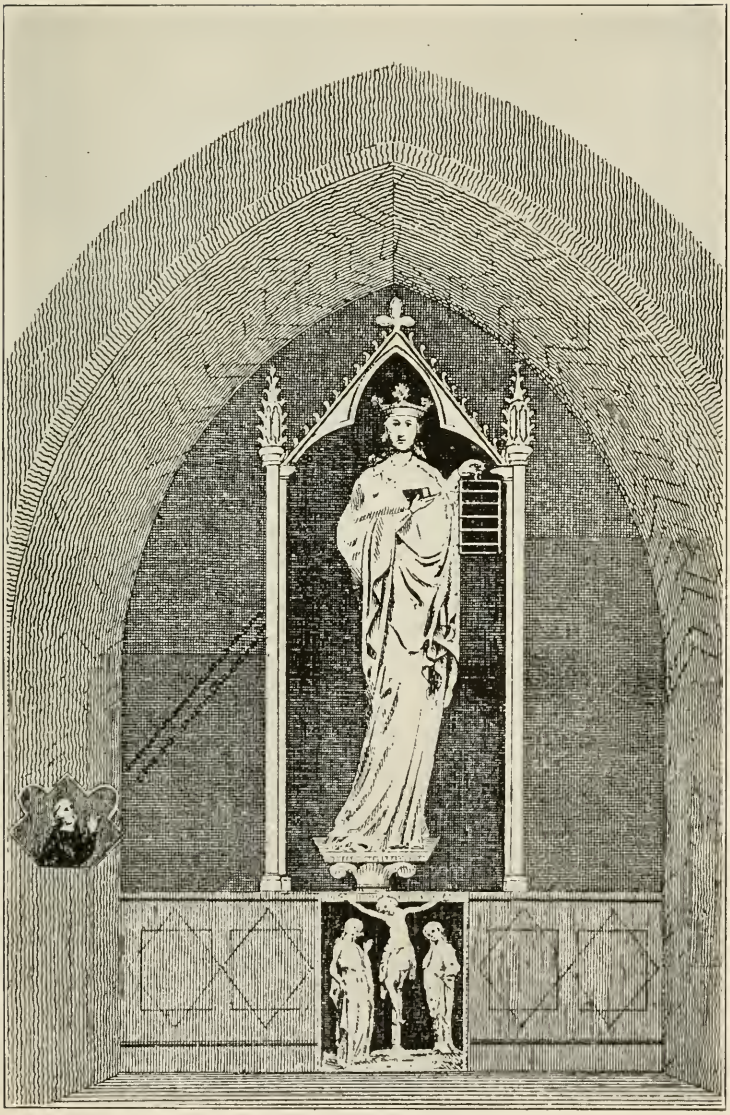
to Aquitaine to confess Christ. There was a chapel to St. Faith in the old crypt of St. Paul's. She is usually represented crowned and bearing the brazen bed or gridiron of her torture and a rod or a book.

St. Faith's altar at the east end of the chapel has long since been destroyed, as were all the stone altars within the church, but the altar steps remain. Particular interest attaches to the painting on the wall over the modern altar, though it is now so faint that its outlines can only be traced when the afternoon light is strong upon it. The painting is an early example of distemper or *tempera* painting and consists of a beautiful figure of St. Faith under a pointed arch, a Crucifixion below and on the north side the demi-figure of a sacrist, perhaps the donor of the picture, or a penitent, praying to the saint with his hands outstretched. The soffit of the pointed stone arch in which the figure is set is painted with broad chevron or zig-zag pattern in red and white, a reminiscence of Norman work not often seen at so late a date and somewhat suggestive of an architectural history as yet unrevealed.

Within the stone arch stands the tall, slender figure of a girl, crowned, wearing long draped robes, bearing in one hand a

book, in the other, displayed, an iron bed or gridiron. Her feet rest on the carved capital of a painted column. A broad painted border runs at the base of the figure containing two large eight-pointed stars: and in the central compartment of this border, directly below the figure of the saint, there is a Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John. To the left within a star-shaped figure in the soffit of the stone arch and on a black ground, appears the demi-figure of a monk, his hands upraised in prayer to the saint as beseeching her good offices. The lines of his prayer are painted on the wall between his figure and that of the saint: *Me quem culpa gravis premit, erige, Virgo, salutis, Fac mihi placatam Christum, deleasque reatum.* (O Virgin, lift thou me up whom heavy sin oppresses: reconcile Christ to me and wash away my guilt.)

The painting is of much interest as an early example of distemper work and resembles the mural decoration in the nave at St. Albans, also that at Canterbury, at Winchester, and in the transept chapel at Ely. Mr. Lethaby calls it "the most remarkable early Gothic wall painting now remaining to us"; it is, however, but a single figure while as much and more remains, for example, in the Early English



ST. FAITH

From a wood cut in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1821.

chapel of the Holy Sepulchre at Winchester, the paintings covering the entire wall and almost as fresh as when executed. The painted arch above this figure is crocketted, and the colums are decorated with tabernacle work.

The figure of the saint is peculiarly delicate and pleasing; the draperies, graceful, the pose excellent, and the face and hands of much beauty. So, also, in the Crucifixion below, the figure of Our Lord is peculiarly effective in its pathetic drooping and that of the Virgin with one hand upraised as in sympathy for pain which she is powerless to relieve, and of St. John, are unusually excellent, though all are now much worn away from long exposure even to the faint light of this dark aisle.

The old Tiling about the altar place is a choice fragment of early work, but is seen with difficulty, being worn away by the feet of those who have ministered at this altar. Among the designs on the tiles may be traced a *fleur-de-lis* and a rosette. Various shades of yellow are freely employed. A piscina, and an aumbrey perhaps for some rich vestment worn by a ministering priest or else some treasure of the altar, remain in the east bay.

The chapel consists of three vaulted bays of ruder workmanship than any other

part of the church we have seen. Two lofty two-light windows in the eastern bay of the south wall look into the chapter house vestibule, to which they furnish an impaired supply of their own dim light. An irregular arcade on the north and south walls shows little richness, and everywhere the architecture suggests that no very exalted use was intended. The eastmost arch on the south wall is pierced by the low doorway which gives access to the chapter house vestibule. The low central arch and the larger one beyond rest on a stone bench and are at present filled with book-cases. In the west bay, a deeply splayed, single light window admits the best light which the chapel receives.

The arcade on the north wall is richer than that on the south, and consists of three irregular connected arches, the central one pierced by the door into the south transept. Conventional foliage designs appear in some of the arcade mouldings. In the north wall, high up in the central arch over the door is a smaller door "hatch-size."

The heavy vaulting ribs spring irregularly from strong corbels set on the rough wall, the corbels supported by great stone heads of men and women: one is an Abbess, one is laughing, one mocking.

Those on the north wall are especially interesting. The bosses consist of heavy masses of foliage and are almost the only feature of the chapel suggesting richness.

At the west end of the chapel is seen the low stone gallery leading on to the monks' night-stairs: and an old rack for copes is preserved here.

CHAPTER XI

THE AMBULATORY

(Early English, 1245-1269)

THE eastern portion of the church is entered through gates to the north and south of the Sanctuary, leading directly into the broad, handsome rounded aisle, which follows the outline of the Sanctuary and the Confessor's chapel with its apse, and is called the Ambulatory or Procession Path. Such aisles are found in nearly all Norman churches which were monastic, and were intended for the use of stately religious processions. They were particularly useful where the shrine of some noted saint was located in the apse, from which relics might be displayed to pilgrims in the aisle beneath. The name was also applied to cloisters, and the term deambulatory used for a place where

> "Men might walk together, twain and twain,
> To keep them dry when it happed to rain."
> —Lydgate.

Ambulatories are found at Canterbury, both in the main story and the crypt, both of which were provided with chapels; at Norwich, which still preserves its Norman

choir; at Gloucester, in crypt, main story and triforium, all three of which contained chapels one above the other in the three stories; and in numerous lesser churches. Today, the Westminster ambulatory seems to exist for the purpose of supplying additional space for monuments.

In plan, the ambulatory follows the outer walls of the apse and the eastern bays, and is of ample width and stone-vaulted. From it radiate in fan-shape, five chapels: Henry VII's at the east, and two on the north and two on the south side, the shape and location of which are best understood from the exterior of the church. This part of the plan is distinctly French: it is not seen elsewhere in England, at least in a church of this date: but is very usual on the Continent. With these five radiating chapels two others are usually visited, belonging structurally to the north and the south transept respectively, but more readily accessible from this point than elsewhere.

For convenience, the entire ambulatory is best studied first, while the chapels may be reserved for study by themselves. In passing on from bay to bay of the ambulatory, beautiful views and many arched vistas delight the eye on either side, views which include chapels and tombs and the

stately shrine of the Confessor with its many interesting architectural details, and even the distant vaults of the north and south transept. The ambulatory and chapels are seen to best advantage on a bright afternoon when sunshine attempts to reveal their dark angles. Few names of world-wide importance are to be noted in the tombs of this aisle, but the outer sides of the stately tombs of the kings in the Confessor's chapel are well studied from this point.

Beginning with the South Walk of the Ambulatory, the first monument, on the north wall, bears a very old name, whether justly or not is a question, but tradition has always pointed to the arched recess over the old stone coffin in the north wall as the tomb of Sebert, the first Christian king of the East Saxons, nephew of King Ethelbert, the Christian king of Kent. He was converted by the preaching of St. Augustine: came to his throne in 600 and died in 616. Tradition also says that he founded a church to St. Peter, the original of Westminster Abbey, on Thorney Isle, but of this there is no proof whatever. The inscription on his leaden coffin describes him as a king "humble, gentle, learned and pious, who sought to serve Christ by making himself perfect . . . a

South Ambulatory, St. Nicholas' Chapel and Henry V's Chapel

true worshipper of Christ in this world, who now rejoices in the reward of a heavenly crown."

The present tomb is one of the earliest in the Abbey proper (though older ones are found in the cloister), and was probably made in 1308. The King was first buried in the church, says the tradition, but during the rebuilding by Henry III, the body was removed to the cloister and on the completion of the choir was reverently brought back to its original home by the monks in solemn procession. Only the stone portion of what appears to be the tomb belongs to it: above, for convenience, rests the old wooden sedilia of the choir.

The tomb consists of a stone coffin or chest containing the body, and is covered over by a polished Purbeck slab placed under a low, moulded arched recess of the fourteenth century filled in with tracery. The mouldings of the recess were once coloured and gilt. A trailing vine painted in dark colour on a white ground, decorated the soffit of the arch: at the east end of the recess are traces of a crowned figure painted on the wall, perhaps Sebert: and at the foot another figure, which, from the remains of a wheel, was probably that of St. Catherine with the emblem

of her torture. The tracery at the back of the recess must have been a later addition, since the central quatrefoil contains the rose in splendour, the device of Edward IV. In the same grave with Sebert, tradition says, were buried his wife, Ethelgoda (d. 615), and his sister, Ricula. An engraving from an imaginary portrait of Sebert copied from this tomb is in Schnebbelli's Antiquaries Museum.

Eight royal children are remembered by a monument under a low arched recess on the south side of this aisle, beyond the chapel of St. Benedict, four children of Henry III and four of his grandchildren, children of Edward I. Of Henry III's children were Princess Katherine, the beautiful little dumb daughter, who died in 1257, being only five years of age, of whom Matthew Paris rather harshly says that she was fit for nothing on account of her infirmity, but that she was greatly beloved by her parents and especially by the King, and that both were greatly grieved by her death; the Queen fretted herself into a fever, "and could obtain no relief from medical skill or human consolation." An infant daughter, and two little princes, Richard and John, were also buried in the Abbey and here remembered.

Edward I's children buried here were

Prince John Henry, born at Windsor in 1265, eldest child of Eleanor, and named for his great-grandfather, King John, and his grandfather, Henry III: Prince Alphonso, the third son, named for the King of Castile, his mother's brother; and the Princess Berengaria, and the Princess Alice, the fourth and fifth daughters in the King's large family of twelve children. Prince John Henry lived to be seven years old, was a child of unusual promise and would have been king instead of his brother, Edward II, had he lived. His death occurred while his parents were in Sicily, on their way home from the Holy Land. Prince Alphonso lived to be twelve years of age, was with his father in his conquest of Wales, and when Llewellyn, the last native prince, was slain, the boy was permitted to offer his golden coronet and jewels at the Confessor's shrine, where the coronet long hung on one of the pillars. He was born while his parents were returning from the Holy Land and soon after they had heard the sad tidings of the death of their two eldest sons and of the King, Henry III.

The high, small altar tomb of Purbeck has a low pedestal with a step and is set against the aisle in a low recess under a

fine trefoiled arch, the sarcophagus being half imbedded in the wall. It bears many points of resemblance to the Confessor's shrine and the tomb of Henry III, is decorated with the same guilloche pattern and with roundels of marble and mosaics in gold, white and brown and was originally a beautiful little tomb. The materials were doubtless the same as those used in the larger tombs. Henry III employed a Dorsetshire mason for the stonework but the decorations were by the Italian workmen brought from Rome to complete the shrine, pavement and King's tomb. The decorated arch of the recess, once painted and gilt, was added to the monument by Edward I, and the painting at the back of the recess, now but imperfectly seen, represented several children kneeling, and above them hung a silver figure of St. Catherine, the patron of children. There were other paintings above the arch. The figure of St. Catherine was of wood covered with silver plates. An image of brass was also once prepared for this tomb, both images being the work of William of Gloucester, the King's goldsmith, who received seventy marks for his labour. Nearly all the tesserae of the mosaics have been picked out of the tomb.

Standing in front of the royal children's

tomb, we have a fine view of the rich old glass in the east clerestory windows of the apse.

The south side of Richard II's tomb in the Confessor's chapel is very well seen from the ambulatory (v. Chap. XIV.) The inner side of the flat wooden canopy still shows much of the original interesting painting. The entire surface is divided into four compartments the ground of which was once gilded, and painted with a diaper of small quatrefoils. In each of the outer compartments is an angel supporting a shield of arms. Of the other two compartments, the westmost contains an early and very interesting representation of the Trinity, the Father within an aureole, seated on a throne, his hand in benediction: the eastmost, a Coronation of the Virgin, the latter kneeling before her son and receiving her diadem as Queen of Heaven. Old records show that the painting cost £20. For many years there was an aperture in the side of the tomb next to the ambulatory through which curious visitors removed the bones of the King and Queen: and in 1766, a Westminster School boy had the jawbone in his possession. The tomb was opened by Dean Stanley and the skeleton revealed was fully six feet tall.

A splendid Gothic tomb of the third Edward is a conspicuous and interesting feature of the ambulatory at this point, but the effigy is much better seen from within the Confessor's chapel. The carved wood canopy with the rich crocketted arcade rises high above the tomb and thus reveals the effigy. Of peculiar interest are the "weepers," the contemporary figures in brass of the King's children, each under an arch of the small arcade at the sides of the tomb. Of the twelve original figures, only six remain and these are all on this south side of the tomb. The Black Prince, the oldest son, and heir to the throne which he did not live to occupy, stands first to the west or left, having a long mantle cut in leaves at the border, short hair and pointed beard: then, in order, the Princess Joan of the Tower, the second daughter, who has long graceful drapery, long sleeves reaching nearly to the foot of her robe, buttoned bodice, and a stiff rich head-dress: Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the third son, wearing his beard in two points (like that of his nephew, Richard II, in the tomb just beyond), buttoned coat, rich belt and his mantle thrown over the left shoulder; Edmund, Duke of York, the mantle fastened on the left shoulder with two large buttons, one arm wholly folded

in the robe, which has a delicate border; Mary, Duchess of Brittany, in a pleated robe, buttoned bodice with basques, and with hands stiffly folded, and William of Hatfield, who died an infant and is buried at York minster. His eyes are closed as in death, but one hand clasps a rich sword belt; the coat sleeves are buttoned up to the elbow. When the late afternoon sunshine strikes these figures of centuries-old royal children, their small brass faces are well seen. The costumes are of much interest.

Six small shields of arms appear at the foot of the row of figures: that of the Black Prince bears the fleur-de-lis of France and the lions of England: that of Lionel, the same: the shield of Edmund has been torn away: that of Mary of Brittany bears the fleur-de-lis and fourteen water bougets: and Joan's shield has a tower (she was born in the Tower), *fleur-de-lis* and a dragon. Below, in the tracery at the base of the tomb, are four other shields set within quatrefoils, enamelled in red, blue and gold, two bearing the lions and *fleur-de-lis,* and two the red cross.

The high tomb with effigy of Philippa, Queen of Edward III (d. 1369) lies beyond that of the King, in the Confessor's chapel. From this aisle we notice the rich

fragments of carved alabaster work: the canopied niches once containing figures of very delicate workmanship, now badly mutilated, but three tiny pedestals, two small alabaster shields and as many delicate quatrefoils remain.

The entrance porch of Henry VII's chapel, a rich and stately bay, occupies the eastern point of the ambulatory. Over our heads as we stand at the foot of the stairs leading up to the chapel, is the floor of the chantry of Henry V, containing the tomb of his Queen, Katherine of Valois, the low side walls of the chantry being thickly wrought with canopied niches containing groups and figures and many heraldic devices. A little flight of stone steps at the west leads up to the Confessor's stately chapel, past the tomb and headless effigy of Henry V. There is a second entrance to the chapel on the north.

The Clarendon vault, directly in front of the steps to Henry VII's chapel, bears an interesting list of names of those buried beneath. Here are the great Earl of Clarendon (d. 1675), the historian of the Restoration, whose history ends with his death in exile at Rouen: the Earl's mother (d. 1661): his second wife: his three sons: and his grandson, Lord Cornbury (d. 1723). Although the Earl's two

granddaughters, Mary and Anne, were in turn queens of England (their mother being Ann Hyde, married to the second James before he became King), yet not even a line of inscription marked the Earl's stone until the time of Dean Stanley.

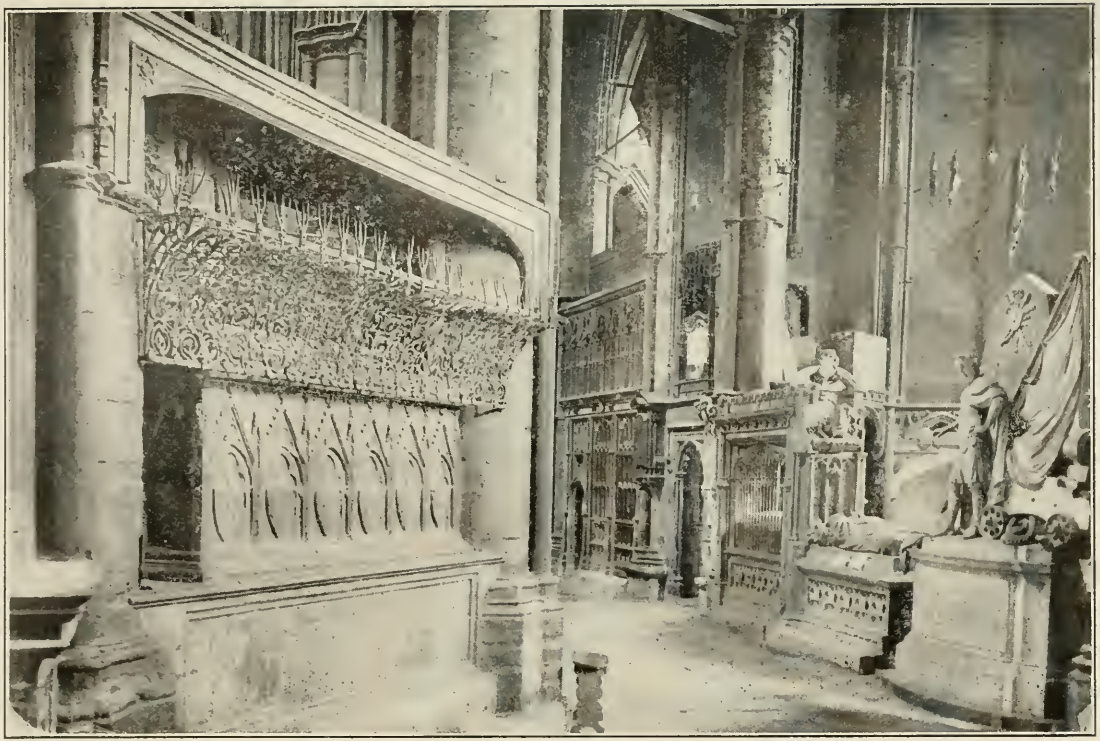
The sculptured figures on the raised sides of Henry V's chantry represent coronation groups, courtiers and heraldic devices and are better studied in connection with the chantry itself.

At the eastern end of the North Ambulatory, on the north side, is the tomb of Louis Robsart, later Lord Bourchier (d. 1431), and his wife, Elizabeth, whose name is familiar in that of his grand-niece, Amy Robsart, of Scott's novel. Lord Bourchier was the second son of Sir Canon Robsart, a knight of Hainhault, and standard-bearer to Henry V: fought nobly at Agincourt and later was made a personal attendant of Henry's Queen. He stood by the King at his deathbed in France and attended his funeral. His grave, and that of his wife, through whom he obtained his title, were made here together. In order to make room for the monument, a portion of the fine stone screen of the chapel was cut away.

The monument consists of an altar tomb of stone under a low arched canopy, at

either end having two large carved stone banners supported by a lion and a falcon. Robsart's crest in stone, a Saracen's head with heavy braided locks and crowned by a Catherine wheel, is placed over the centre of the arch above the tomb. The entire monument was once rich with colour and gilt and was considered one of the most remarkable in the Abbey. The screen was powdered over with Catherine wheels and adorned in the frieze with numerous shields of arms alternating with the mottoes, *"Non nobis Dominus, Non nobis, de Domini tuo da gloriam,"* and *"L' honneur a Dieu, a nous merci."* Ten angels with golden wings once sustained shields of arms bearing mottoes. The double tomb was made wider than the screen and on the inner side of the chapel an ingenious device of flying buttresses skillfully conceals the difference in width, and the lions and falcons sustaining the banners at either end are arranged to form a part of the buttresses.

A lofty monument stands beyond St. Paul's chapel to William Pulteney, Earl of Bath (d. 1764), a great leader of the Opposition against the powerful Walpole, quick of wit, of lively imagination, agreeable in social life, and a strong, persuasive and pathetic orator. The Countess, his



North Ambulatory, Queen Eleanor's Tomb, St. John the Baptist's Chapel and Islip's Chapel

wife, was described by Bishop Newton as wonderfully agreeable when in good humour: "but often clouded or overcast."

The tomb of Queen Eleanor (d. 1290), in the Confessor's chapel, displays even more of its beauty from this aisle than from within the chapel. Notice the graceful arcade of six arches enclosing shields of arms: and in particular the famous grille of wrought iron, known as the Eleanor Grille, made by an English blacksmith in 1293, protecting the tomb on this side, and remarkably well preserved for all these years. It is considered a notable example of thirteenth century ironwork and is often imitated, wholly or in part, and most of the designs are familiar. There is a copy of the grille in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. In a strong light, traces of an old painting on the stone base of the tomb may be made out, showing a sepulchre with the Virgin Mary: an armed knight at the head and monks at the foot.

Beyond the Queen's tomb, in the chapel above, is that of her father-in-law, Henry III. The north side of this tomb is in much better preservation than the chapel side. Here the decorations of bright red and green slabs of jasper and the glittering mosaics are seen in a good light.

The flat wooden canopy, similar to that of Richard II, was, like that once painted on its under side. The great slab of porphyry on the tomb, surrounded by patterns of gold and coloured stones, is notable work, the mosaics in particular being considered by experts "the summit of the mosaic art. Neither Rome nor any other city of Italy has another panel of equal magnificence."*

Sir John Wyndsore (d. 1414), has a slab in this pavement with a curious rhyming inscription. But Sir John has not always occupied his grave alone. In the early years of the Civil War some of the Puritan leaders were buried here and on a small stone close by are recorded the names of John Pym, M. P., and William Strode, M. P.

John Pym (d. 1643), familiarly known as "King Pym," on account of his great influence in the famous Long Parliament, called the ablest of the early leaders and the implacable foe of monarchy, did not live to witness the downfall of the King and his party. He died at Derby House (Cannon Row), an official residence of the Parliamentary leaders and was the first of these to be accorded a magnificent public funeral and a monument. His body

*Chevalier Formilli.

was borne on the shoulders of one hundred of his associates, including Sir Harry Vane, Sir Arthur Hazelrigg and Sir William Strode, both Houses of Parliament following in mourning garb, also the Assembly of Divines, which was then sitting in the Jerusalem Chamber. At Oxford, the King's friends celebrated the funeral with bonfires and feasts of joy. The body was placed under Wyndsore's slab and the grave became a centre of interest for the next few years.

Sir William Strode (d. 1645), another famous Parliamentary leader, was buried here. His name will long be remembered as one of the Five Members whose impeachment Charles I had demanded as traitors, and whom he attempted, with a band of five hundred soldiers, to seize, entering the House in person for this purpose. On account of his violent methods, Strode himself was called the "Parliament driver."

Col. Edward Popham, who died in 1651, two years after the execution of King Charles, "a fierce Independent, and distinguished both on sea and land," was later buried in St. John's chapel.

Two noble but worn tombs, representing two Westminster abbots and a Durham bishop, of the fifteenth and sixteenth

centuries, form a screen on the north side of the aisle for the chapel of St. John the Baptist. The eastmost tomb blocks up what was once the bay of entrance to the chapel, which is now entered farther on.

Thomas Ruthall, Bishop of Durham (d. 1523), rests under a high tomb of Perpendicular Gothic which has lost its rich canopy. Both tomb and effigy are much decayed, and the latter, indeed, is almost a shapeless mass but reveals a vested figure with high mitre having long, fringed infulae. The feet rest on a large lion. At the west end, above the head, is a niche for a small figure. Heraldic achievements at the head display a shield and helmet surmounted by a mitre: at the base of the tomb are five shields. Bishop Ruthall was private secretary to Henry VIII. Shakespeare has transferred an historical incident concerning him to Wolsey. The Bishop was a very rich man for his time, his property being estimated at £100,000. He was asked to send a volume containing certain State papers to the King: but sent instead a book containing an inventory of his wealth. Wolsey, being no friend of the bishop, saw the mistake but delivered the book to the King, saying that "he would now know where a man of money was, in case he

needed it." The Bishop, who seems to have been both generous and wise in the use of his wealth, is said to have died of grief occasioned by his mistake.

George Fascet, Abbot of Westminster for two years (d. 1500), lies in the next bay to the west, under a fine stone monument with canopy. The low altar tomb has a rich Purbeck slab from which the effigy has been removed. Traceried panels decorate the base, bearing the arms of the Confessor: the crossed keys of St. Peter: the pastoral staff and mitre (the peculiar emblem of the bishopric, but their use permitted to the Abbots of Westminster, St. Albans and some other large houses) : and three swords meeting at the hilt, with three water bougets. The canopy is flat, having a low, broad arch beneath, with cornice and battlements, and is supported by heavy buttresses at the angles. The spandrils are carved with foliage and shields of arms: traceried panels decorate the interior: the initials MF and foliage ornament appear in the frieze.

The stone coffin which now rests on this tomb is thought to be that of Abbot Thomas Millyng (d. 1492), Bishop of Hereford after being Abbot of Westminster: "Promoted . . . by Edward IV

in reward, principally, for the services which he had rendered to his Queen when in sanctuary in this church, and to whose eldest son, afterwards Edward V, he himself and the Prior had stood godfathers." The coffin is six feet nine inches long and on opening it was found to contain dust, some bones and remnants of cere-cloth. The lid is broken in three places. The cross *fleury,* the badge of Hereford, appears on the lid.

The plain tomb of Edward I on the south side of the aisle, the last of the series of three royal tombs in the Confessor's chapel seen from this point shows no trace of the beauty which, in some form, must have belonged to it when first erected.

On the north side of the tomb of Edmund Crouchback (d. 1296), second son of Henry III, buried in the Sanctuary, are seen the rich brackets of the canopy, once containing angels: the riding knight in the canopy arch: and the ten small figures or "weepers" in the arcade which decorates the base of the altar tomb. These figures, though now much mutilated, are delicately carved in a variety of attitudes and evidently were once gilded. Two tiny sculptured shields in each bay of the arcade are suspended by carved stone

straps attached to rosettes in the moulding. Notice also the effigy: chain mail covers the head: the surcoat is long and the shield heater-shaped, as in the early style of armour, and a well-carved angel supports the head. Notice also the roses thickly dotting the hollow moulding of the canopy, and the fine cusping, the vaulting and bosses.

There is a large blue marble slab in the pavement to Brian Duppa (d. 1662), successively Bishop of Chichester, Salisbury and Winchester, a steady friend of Charles I and tutor to Charles II. The inscription is in Latin and above it the arms of Winchester are incised, also the emblems of the Order of the Garter and its motto and a jewelled mitre with long tasselled infulae.

Abbot Easteney (d. 1498), has the richest ecclesiastical brass in the Abbey. The low Purbeck tomb on which the brass is placed now rests close to the monument of Wolfe, in whose stead it was displaced from its original position. The Abbot was buried in the chapel of St. John the Evangelist. The figure on the brass, though only three feet ten inches high, is of excellent proportions. Notice the high jewelled mitre, the embroidered amice and orphreys; the chasuble, bordered and jew-

elled: the fringed dalmatic: the alb with apparel and the embroidered stole. From the mouth of the effigy issues a label bearing the inscription "*Exultabo in Deo Jh'u meo.*" A beautiful, triple arched canopy over the figure is supported by rich buttresses and all the details are of much interest.

Abbot Easteney was a friend and patron of Caxton: assisted at the coronations of Richard III and Henry VII: ruled at Westminster 1474-1498, and was deeply interested, during the last years of his life, in the progress of the nave building which he personally superintended. At this time the nave was vaulted and the great west window placed. But though he cleared the Abbey of its large debt, yet he exceeded its revenue when completing the nave by about £600, which had to be made up by several of his successors in office.

The great monument to Major-General Wolfe, a brave young soldier of thirty-two, killed in the defeat of the French on the Heights of Abraham at Quebec, in 1759, towers up at the west end of this aisle, occupying much space that would better be left vacant, if beauty and effectiveness were considered. The great structure consists of three parts, the base, the sarcophagus and a relief group at the

top. On the base is a bronze relief representing the landing of the British troops at the Heights of Abraham and their perilous feat in scaling the precipice. The sarcophagus has at its base two reclining British lions, one roaring. The relief at the top shows the death of Wolfe and the Angel of Victory hovering above with a crown of laurel. The French flag is beneath the general's feet. Wolfe was only eighteen when he fought at Culloden as brigadier-major. He had been devotedly attached to a young lady but neither she nor her parents regarded him with favour and she died unmarried, only six months before he fell at Quebec, and he wore her miniature to the last. His body was brought home and buried, not in the Abbey but in the parish church of St. Alphege at Greenwich.

Sir John Harpendon (d. 1457) is buried in this north aisle. His low Purbeck tomb, which was once raised four feet from the floor, was placed with that of Abbot Easteney between the north aisle of the transept and this aisle, just beyond Islip's door: but both tombs were removed to make way for the monument of Wolfe, and Harpendon's placed here near Aymer's tomb. The Purbeck slab is raised about eighteen inches from the floor, and

bears a fine military brass representing the knight in plate armour, narrow jewelled sword belt and long sword, prick spurs, the hands in prayer. The head rests on a helmet having for its crest a hind's head issuing from a crown. There are four shields of arms. Sir John was the fifth and last husband of Joan de la Pole, Lady Cobham, a famous heiress of Kent.

West of this, in the pavement, is a stone showing brass indents of two monks, Thomas Brown and Humphrey Roberts (d. 1508), the two on one stone, but why so closely linked I do not know.

CHAPTER XII

THE CHAPEL OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

(Early English, 1245-1269)

"He towards whose dust was attracted the fierce Norman and the proud Plantagenet, the grasping Tudor and the fickle Stuart, even the Independent Oliver, the Dutch William and the Hanoverian George, was one who, weak and erring as he was, rests his claim to interment here not on any act of power or fame but only on his artless purity and simple goodness . . . whose humble graces are within the reach of every man, woman and child, if we rightly part the immortal substance from the perishable form."—Dean Stanley.

The chapel of the Confessor, called also the chapel of the Kings or *Capella Regum*, the Westminster Holy of Holies, and The Saint's Chapel, is not a separate structure built and dedicated as a chapel, but is made up of the two eastmost bays and the apse of the presbytery set apart by Henry III to contain the tomb and shrine of the saint whom he held in great honour. As first built, there was no dividing screen

between these eastern bays and those to the west in which the high altar was located: hence the tomb and shrine were visible throughout the length of the church: and since they stood elevated above the level of the nave and transept, and very near the high altar, they must have formed an intimate connection with the interior of the church and its daily services and must have held a more intimate place in the thoughts of both celebrants and worshippers than after they were concealed by the screen.

It must be remembered that the shrine and tomb were, for a time, the only monuments existing within the chapel, the Sanctuary, ambulatory or side chapels. Chaucer and Spenser had not yet been born to give name and fame to the Poets' Corner, nor did the Statesman's Aisle of the north transept yet dream of the honours awaiting it, nor could one have foretold, in this thirteenth century, how closely the surge of departing life would come to press upon these noble walls, then fresh from the builder's hands. The shrine was therefore a much more conspicuous object than at a later period when its beauty was brought into comparison with that of the numerous royal tombs erected in its near vicinity.

Edward the Confessor's Chapel

The eastern portion of a mediæval church was always the most honoured on account of its nearness to the high altar where precious relics were usually enshrined: but especially was this true when the relics of a patron saint or founder here had place, as in the case of St. Etheldreda at Ely: of St. Cuthbert at Durham: of St. Hugh at Lincoln, St. Frideswide at Oxford, of St. Alban at St. Albans and of Becket at Canterbury. But the saint of Westminster was greater, in the eyes of its monks, than any of these, for he was a royal saint, even the King of England, and not only that but he was the founder and builder of their Abbey. Around his shrine and tomb, kings and queens and royal children naturally gathered in their burials, as the choicest and most sacred abiding place within the church, in the belief that so they would share in the sanctity and the heavenly favour accorded to the devout saint.

The first burial within the Norman abbey was that of the Confessor himself: and here, a few years later the body of his queen was placed by his side. In thus inaugurating the Abbey as a place of royal burials, the king caused to be preserved for us a vitally interesting history of the sovereigns of England for many centuries.

"The history of the royal tombs is the history of the Abbey itself," says Stanley: but even more than this, the history of the tombs is almost an epitome of the history of England. When Henry III died it was eminently fitting that, as the church's second founder and munificent builder, he should here take his rest: fitting, also, that around him his family should find burial, his eldest son, Edward I, at his head: the beloved daughter-in-law, Queen Eleanor, at his feet: and that here the strong third Edward, his grandson, should come, and Edward's grandson, Richard II, with their queens: and later, that gallant soldier, Henry V, and his French queen. Six kings, including four of the eight Plantagenets, and six queens (if we include Henry V's chantry with the Confessor's chapel), are thus buried here and all save three have memorials: and because the chapel was originally held sacred and entered by a privileged few, the first king buried here directed that all the tombs should be placed high in order that they might be readily seen from the aisles.

The chapel may be entered from the north ambulatory or from the east by a flight of steps. It is elevated several feet above the surrounding ambulatory by a

tumulus or mound of earth composed of soil consecrated and brought from the Holy Land in ships by the order of Henry III, and is said to be the last funeral tumulus in England. The base on the east, towards the ambulatory is traceried.

The architecture of this part of the eastern arm of the church has already been described in the chapter on The Sanctuary. For convenience, we may repeat here that the chapel consists of one bay and an apse of three compartments, in three stages, with a stone vault, and is surrounded by an ambulatory. Against its eastern wall is built the towering chantry of Henry V, approached by stone stairways within the two stone turrets on its west face. A fifteenth century screen forms a wall of separation from the Sanctuary at the west. The five eastmost arches of the main arcade are narrower and more acutely pointed than those at the west, in order to allow for the contraction of the apse. All the spandrils of the main arcade and of the triforium are richly diapered. The heavy columns which support the main arches are surrounded by four slender detached shafts, in the earlier and less admirable manner of Henry III's building: those of later date to the west having eight shafts.

The piers of the eastmost bay are entirely obscured by the rich tabernacle work with statuary which encloses the stone stairways leading to Henry V's chantry above, and a screen with iron grille runs between the eastern piers.

The triforium stage, like that of the Sanctuary which it continues, is very richly carved in two planes, having two sub-divided containing arches in all bays except the three at the east, which have but a single containing arch. All are richly cusped and their spandrils enriched with diaper work. The Confessor's tomb and shrine are in the midst of the chapel.

A series of stately mediæval tombs entirely surrounds the shrine on three sides, each under an arch of the main arcade, including in order, beginning with the westmost on the north side, those of Edward I: Henry III: Queen Eleanor: Henry V (Katherine of Valois is in the chantry above): Philippa: Edward III: Richard II and Anne of Bohemia. The lofty, pall-covered basement and superstructure of the Confessor's tomb and shrine rises in the midst, and at its north lies buried the Confessor's Queen, Edith: and on the south, the Saxon Queen Maud.

Interesting views appear on all sides. To the east, glimpses of the rich vestibule

of Henry VII's chapel: to the north and south, into the small but lofty ambulatory chapels with their wealth of monuments: at the west, into the north and south transepts with their rich architectural detail: and through the small traceried doors of the western screen, glimpses of the Sanctuary and of the long choir and nave aisles may be obtained.

The chapel area is so narrow and is so encroached upon by tombs that an early morning hour is the best time for quiet study.

The Pavement is chiefly of the original thirteenth century work except a small portion at the west end of the shrine where the old altar stood, which is now laid with red tiles. Its general features are the same as those of Abbot Ware's Sanctuary pavement, but it is much less elaborate, contains fewer designs and suggests that the supply of material brought from abroad was nearly exhausted when this work was undertaken. What remains of the old work is much worn away by the passing feet of many generations.

A rich fragment of the original mosaic is now concealed by a step under Henry V's chantry. It was placed in honour of a little grave beneath, that of Prince Alphonso, the young son of Edward III

(d. 1284), the heir to the throne and a child of much promise.

The beautiful Screen of light stone which separates the chapel from the Sanctuary at the west was built either in the reign of Henry VI or of his successor, Edward IV, more probably the former, who held the Confessor's name in great veneration. It is a fine example of fifteenth century work, though all of its statues and many of its canopied niches are broken away.

The screen is fourteen feet two inches high and thirty-eight feet six inches long: it consists of a single stage which is pierced by two small doorways of open tracery leading into the Sanctuary beyond and has a stone frieze two feet six inches wide, richly carved with scenes from the Legendary Life of the Confessor. The main wall space is decorated with traceried panels and beautiful canopied niches, large and small, once filled with statues, among which were St. George, St. Dionysius and a king in prayer. The tracery and vaulting of the canopies, and the carved work of the pedestals are delicately wrought and of much beauty.

The famous frieze which runs along the entire wall at the top of the screen consists of a curiously designed running vine

of large trefoils resembling a clover leaf, the alternate leaves being faced by shields, now blank. In the spaces between the leaves and shields, a platform is formed by the vine stem and upon this are carved scenes, real and imaginary, in the life of the Confessor as recorded by Ailred, Abbot of Rivaulx. The principal figures are about one foot in height: each subject, with a slight exception in the seventh, is carved from a single stone, and the fourth and fifth from the same stone. Beginning at the left or south the subjects are:

(a) The Saxon nobles swearing fealty to Queen Emma in the name of her unborn son. This took place when Ethelred, father of the Confessor, called a council when the Danes were pressing him hard, and asked advice as to a successor. And since it had been predicted that Edmund Ironside, his son by his first wife, should have a short life: and that Alfred, Emma's oldest son, should die prematurely, the council agreed to the rights of the unborn son. In the screen, the Queen is represented standing in the midst of a large assembly and the knights raise their right hands in fealty.

(b) The birth of the Confessor, at Islip, in Oxfordshire, in 1004: the Queen is on a state bed which is very hard and

meagre, and has for covering a stiff pillow: her infant is held by two attendants.

(c) The coronation of the King in 1043, by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York.

(d) The King has a vision of a demon dancing on a cask of money, which represents the Danegelt, or tax imposed by his father in order to supply money to bribe the Danes to cease from their depredations. In a single year, this tax amounted to £32,000 (at that time equal to 771,056 acres of arable land, says a modern writer), and had become a heavy burden on the people but constituted a large part of the King's income. In 1051 there was a terrible famine in England and food was very dear. The Queen directed Edward's attention to the great store of this tax then collected in the treasury and he was so touched by the sight that he remitted the tax and caused the money to be restored to the people. The head of the dancing demon has been broken away from the sculpture.

(e) The King, lying on his bed, gives warning to a scullion who is stealing from his treasure chest, to escape before Hugolin, his treasurer discovers him: Edward excuses his conduct to Hugolin, saying that the thief may have greater need of money than he.

(f) The King at mass has a vision of our Lord in human form standing upon the altar: the King appears kneeling at the altar.

(g) The King has a vision of the shipwreck of the Danish King as he is setting out to invade England.

(h) As the King and Queen sit at table with Earl Godwin, and his two sons, Tostig and Harold, the King drinks to the health of the younger son, Harold, whereupon his older brother seized Harold by the hair, and "layd mightie blows upon him, so that the kynge himself was fayne to put his hand to separate them."

(i) The King has a vision of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus (sleeping in their cave since the year 250), turning from their right sides over to their left, indicating the approach of some great event in the world's history. The King sends a messenger, who is represented in the sculpture as coming to the cave and finding it as the King had seen.

(j) The familiar story of St. John, disguised as a pilgrim, asking alms of the King, who, having no money in his purse, gives him a ring of great value from his finger.

(k) The King, after washing his hands, presents the water to four blind

men, who wash in it and are restored to sight.

(l) The story of the King and the pilgrim is continued here. St. John gives the King's ring to two pilgrims and bids them tell the King that he will soon depart this life.

(m) The two pilgrims giving the ring to the King.

(n) The subject of this last sculpture is uncertain, but the representation of a part of the Abbey suggests that it may refer to the dedication.

The various groups are best studied with a glass, and on a bright day. They are worth careful attention for their quaint and curious composition and excellent workmanship. When all the niches were filled with statues and the gilding and colour with which they were decorated was fresh, the effect of this western wall of the chapel must have been brilliant.

The Stained Glass which once filled all the long series of windows in the Abbey has almost entirely disappeared. I find no record of its destruction by Cromwell's soldiers, and assuredly Cromwell, who designed the Abbey to be the burial place of himself, his family and his officers, would naturally prevent its destruction. It may be that the glass was

removed at this period and hidden away, to be discovered by some archæologist of the future.

The east windows of the clerestory of the apse contain nearly all that remains of the once beautiful glass and this is but a collection of fragments of the thirteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, much mended with modern glass; and since little if any is in its original position, an orderly description is not possible. The tall figures which occupy the large lights are of the fifteenth century: the shields of arms of the thirteenth: while the quarries and small sections in the tracery are evidently from the sixteenth century glazing of Henry VII's chapel.

The original glass of Henry III's church is readily identified. We know that glazing was in progress as early as 1253, and the apse windows would naturally be among the first to be completed. Several coats of arms remain of this period, but whether in their original position or transferred here from elsewhere is not known. The size of the shields and the fact that thirteenth century glaziers usually employed heraldry at the base of figures, suggests another position. Only two or three of these shields now

remain: the shields of Provence, the land of Henry III's queen: of Castile and Leon, and Ponthieu, borne by Eleanor, the queen of Edward I, and the crowned lion of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the King's brother, all of which must date from Henry III's time, and doubtless here as elsewhere they were inserted in memory of benefactions to the building fund. So late as 1810 thirteen shields were described as remaining in these windows, and a sketch of that date represents three small figures in each light, one placed above the other as in the clerestory windows at Canterbury, making eighteen figures in all.

The prominent feature of the windows today is the series of six Perpendicular figures, one in each light, grouped in pairs, all of rich and glowing pot metal glass, though badly mutilated and mended with modern glass. The figures are nearly seven feet high and under low arched canopies. Each figure stood on a pedestal and had draped curtains at the back and a rich carpet, as in Edward IV's window in the north transept at Canterbury. Each figure is made up of many small pieces: the faces were originally cut from a single piece of white glass, but none are now entire. The colouring, however, is

exceedingly rich and beautiful, in particular the ruby, sapphire and amber.

The northmost two-light window contains two figures which are called those of our Lord and the Virgin Mary. The former is represented crowned, standing with eyes downcast, bears a book and a staff, and has robes of beautiful ruby mingled with emerald and sapphire. The Virgin, in rich emerald mantle over a close-sleeved robe of deep ruby, has a golden halo delicately ornamented.* The face is still pleasing in its expression of earnestness as she gazes upon her Son, apparently listening to His words.

The central pair of figures represent, with little doubt, Edward the Confessor and St. John disguised as a pilgrim receiving the King's ring as alms. Some idea of the size of these figures may be gained from the fact that the face of the Confessor measures fifteen inches in length. The King wears the splendid embroidered robes in which he is usually represented, the outer one of deep ruby flowered with gold, and trimmed with ermine, and the collar bordered with ermine: the lining flowered: the inner robe of amber, also flowered, and a large letter E is seen in several places on the drapery, according to

*Neale calls this halo a straw hat.

a fashion of the period. The face is noble, the eyes large and thoughtful, the beard is worn long, the crown has *fleur-de-lis* ornament. The figure of St. John though dressed as a pilgrim, has a brilliant sapphire mantle over the robes, the large hood of a pilgrim, deep collar bordered with ermine, embroidered ruby vest, large wide sleeves, and the letter I in various places on his garments. He bears the pilgrim's staff and a scrip with buckled lid. His hand is extended to receive the King's ring. The feet are bare. An interesting feature of this group is the draped curtains which still remain, as they were originally in all these figures, that of St. John being ruby, and of the King emerald, both depending from golden rods. The diapered carpet and the pedestals also remain in this group.

The third pair of figures in the south window are thought to represent St. Augustine and Mellitus, Bishop of London, who came from Rome to England to assist St. Augustine. The former figure, called St. Augustine (but the identification is by no means certain), has long mustaches, straight hair, long beard in ringlets, wears a robe of crimson fastened by a jewelled broach with an outer robe of sapphire, and is represented turn-

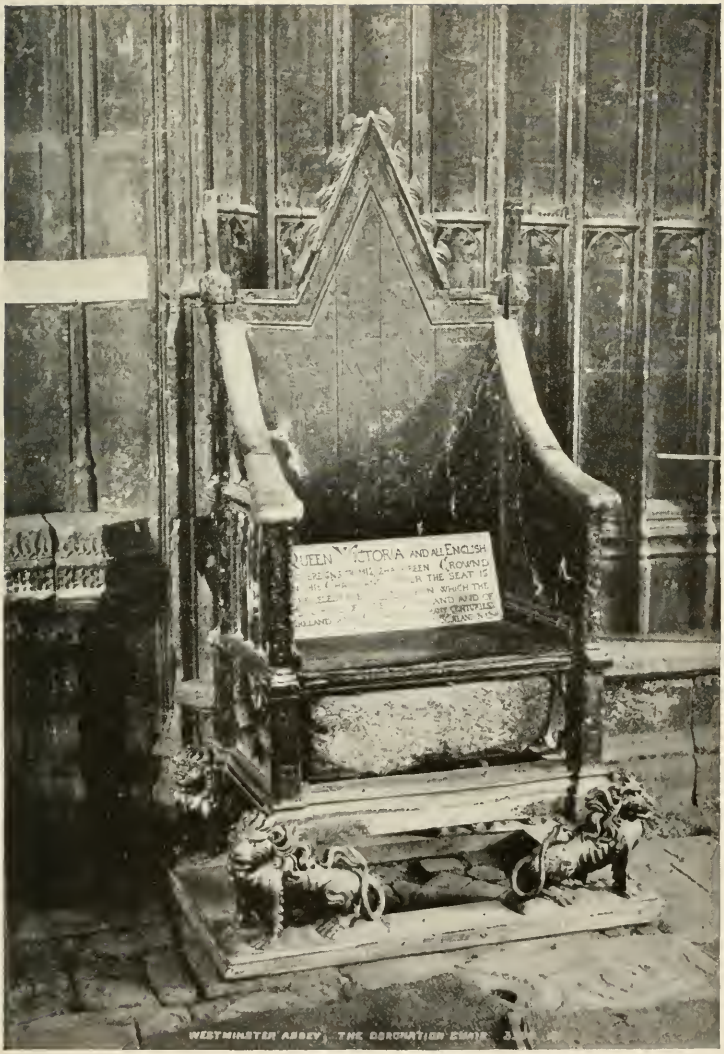
ing the leaves of a book. The figure called Mellitus is badly patched, but the episcopal robes are of crimson, emerald and purple, the outer robe is fastened by a sapphire clasp with a topaz in the centre and bears a mitre and crozier, both set with precious stones. The letter M appears on his garments.

Several fragments and some quarries, evidently, from their subject, from Henry VII's chapel, appear in the tracery: among them are a crown on a hawthorn bush: the crossed keys of St. Peter, of gold on a ruby ground: and a rich Tudor rose of glowing ruby-red, for ever red, with a heart of gold, which gleams radiantly at all hours of all days.

The Coronation Chair, which is now placed against the screen at the west end of the Confessor's chapel, is, in its present worn condition, unremarkable, though once brilliant with gold and colour and no doubt beautiful. It is a low armed chair of wood having a pointed arched back, panelled sides, and the feet rest on four lions. It does not appear to be very well constructed. "Many a poor old woman, with only one room, has a better and a more handsome made chair," wrote Kohn, a Swedish professor visiting the Abbey several years ago.

The chair was not, however, built for its present exalted use. When Edward I gained possession of the famous Scottish Stone of Scone, in 1297, he desired to present it, as a valued trophy of his conquest, to the shrine of the Confessor built by his father. He had, at about this time, completed the rich tombs of his father and his Queen, Eleanor. No other royal tombs then stood in the chapel. In presenting this trophy of his hard-fought wars to the spot of earth which contained that which had been dearest to him in life, the King caused the stone to be enclosed in a painted wooden chair, and gave it to the Abbey to be used as the liturgical seat of the priest who might be saying mass at the Confessor's shrine: and for a long time the chair stood near the altar of the shrine facing west.

It was of oak, richly painted by Walter of Durham, and decorated with beautiful stones imitating jewels: the painting was elaborately and carefully wrought by Master Walter, the King's master painter, who had been employed on the famous Painted Chamber of the King's palace of Westminster. A large figure of a king appeared on the back, faint traces of which now are seen on close inspection. All the surface is now scratched over



Coronation Chair

thickly with initials, one of a schoolboy, who vowed that he would spend the night in the Abbey, sleep in the chair and leave his name here: all of which he did.

The famous Stone of Scone, which is now clamped to the underside of the chair seat, and to receive which the chair was made, is twenty-six inches long, sixteen inches wide and eleven inches thick. It is of a dull red or purplish sandstone from the west coast of Scotland, and chisel marks indicate that at some time it was prepared to use for building. Interesting tradition, however, identifies it with that stone on which Jacob's head rested when he had a vision of angels ascending and descending the ladder let down from heaven, and which he set up as a pillar, anointing it with oil and naming the place Bethel. From thence, it is said, the sons of Jacob bore it into Egypt. It next appears in Sicily and Spain, and is then taken to Ireland by the king's son, Simon Brech, c. 700 B. C., and here it was planted on the sacred Hill of Tara. It was then called the Lia Fail or Stone of Destiny. On it the kings of Ireland were placed and if the chief was a true successor, the stone was silent: if a pretender, "it groaned aloud as with thunder."

Varying fortunes followed the stone.

It is next found in Scotland, in Scone, two miles and a half from Perth, where it was brought in 840 by King Kenneth, encased in a chair of wood and placed in the cemetery of the Augustine Abbey of Scone, beside a cross, near the Mount of Belief. In this chair the kings of Scotland were seated for coronation by the Earls of Fife. Thus Perth became the central city of Scotland, its *sedes principalis*. The first historical record of a coronation at Scone was that of Malcolm IV, in 1154, and from that date until the time of Balliol the kings of Scotland were crowned here.

King Kenneth in the seventh century is said to have engraved on the stone a prophecy that wherever it was found there Scottish kings should reign, and this was fulfilled in 1603, when James VI of Scotland became James I of England. Perhaps the most probable of all the explanations or legends concerning the stone is that which identifies it with the stony pillar on which Columba rested, and on which his dying head was laid at the Abbey of Iona: and if so "it belongs to the minister of the first authentic Western consecration of a Christian Prince, that of the Scottish chief, Aidan."*

Since the time of Edward I, all English

*Stanley.

sovereigns have been seated in this chair at their coronation ceremonies and it has usually been covered with cloth of gold. In this chair Richard II is represented as sitting, in the portrait which now hangs in the Sanctuary. It is variously known as the Coronation Chair: King Edward's Chair and the Royal Chair. In Shakespeare's Henry VI, the Duchess of Gloucester reveals her high ambitions in the well-remembered lines:

"Methought I sate in seat of majesty
In the cathedral church of Westminster
And in that chair where kings and queens are crowned."

Only once in the last five centuries or more has the chair left the Abbey. In 1657, Cromwell caused it to be carried across the way to Westminster Hall, where he was installed Lord Protector. "The stone is the one primeval monument which brings together the whole empire. The iron rings, the battered surface, the crack which has all but rent its solid mass asunder, all bear witness to its long migrations. It is thus imbedded in the heart of the English monarchy, an element of poetic, patriarchal, heathen times . . . a link which unites the throne of England to the traditions of Tara and Iona and connects the charm of our complex civilization with the forces of our mother

earth, the stocks and stones of savage nature."*

Formerly two coronation chairs stood here, the second made for the double coronation of William and Mary in 1689: but after the coronation of Edward VII the second one was removed to Henry VII's chapel.

The Sword and Shield of Edward III, preserved at the west end of the Confessor's chapel, are said to be those that were borne before the king in France. The sword is seven feet long and weighs eighteen pounds. Only a very strong person could possibly wield it, and perhaps it was never intended to be worn, but only carried in processions before the king. It is evidently one of the interesting and not common examples of the wolf swords of Passau, as it originally bore the figure of a wolf, granted, in the first instance, as a badge of excellence to the Armourers' Guild of Passau by Archduke Albert in 1349, and later used extensively by the armourers of Soligen in Westphalia. This wolf mark was seen and written of by a visitor to the Abbey from the Continent in the sixteenth century.† It would

*Stanley.

†Bencheley Rye's "England as Seen by Foreigners in the Sixteenth Century."

be of great interest to trace the history of the sword. It may have been presented to Edward III, in the course of his visits to the Continent. Sir Roger de Coverly, whose observations on Westminster Abbey were assuredly not those of an experienced antiquarian, was much impressed by this sword, which visitors were formerly allowed to handle, and leaning on the pommel, "gave us the whole history of the Black Prince, concluding that, in Sir Richard Baker's opinion, Edward III was one of the greatest princes that ever sat on the English throne."*

*The accompanying cuts of three wolf marks are taken from early swords. The mark, often called the running fox, but bearing little resemblance to any known animal, is rudely incised on the blade,

usually, I think, near the hilt. The upper drawing is taken from a very interesting thirteenth century sword, by the courtesy of its owner, Dr. Bashford Dean, of New York City.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CONFESSOR'S TOMB AND SHRINE.

THE King died January 6, 1066, a few days after the dedication of the church. According to the legend, he had received a message from St. John the Evangelist, telling him that within six months he should be with him in Paradise, and the King set himself devoutly to arrange for the end. As we have seen (v. Chap. II), he was not able to attend the dedication of the Abbey for which he had long been preparing. Around his death-bed stood his Queen, Harold, Earl Godwin's son, Stigand, and others, and Harold and his kindred* earnestly entreated the dying man to name Harold his successor and so prevent confusion, the King having no child of his own to succeed him. But the King said, "You well know that I have given my realm at my death to the Duke of Normandy, whom I love as a brother or child, and as I have given it, so have some among you sworn† that you would

*Wace.

†Harold is said to have sworn, on relics, to support the Duke of Normandy.

support him." Harold again urged the dying King, who answered, "Harold, thou shalt have the throne, but I know full well that it will cost thee thy life. If I know anything of the Duke and the multitude of people that he can command, none but God can avail to save thee," a prophecy only too surely fulfilled within a few months, when Harold fell at the battle of Hastings.

The King, then seeing his last hour approaching, said to those who were weeping by him:* "Put away your weeping and speed forth my journey with prayers and holy psalms and alms deeds": and then he set his mind all on God, and among words of praising yielded up his spirit.†

The Confessor was buried in his royal

*Caxton's Golden Legend.

†Wace tells us that the Confessor considered within himself who should inherit his kingdom, he having no child, and decided to leave it to William as "the best of his lineage." All the good that he had received had come from that line: his Norman uncles and cousins had brought him up and educated him and William had done him service, "and he had loved none so well" as this family of Norman Dukes. Hence, and "on account of the great worth of William himself," he decided to leave him the kingdom, considering that he could do no better for England. Harold was his brother-in-law, but Harold had been at least instrumental in causing the death of the Confessor's brother, and it was said had intended to dispose of Edward himself, had he succeeded in bringing them to England together.

robes, all lavishly embroidered by the Queen, with the crown on his head, a golden crucifix depending from a long gold chain about his neck, and on his hand the gold ring restored to him by the two pilgrims. "The body as it lay in the palace seemed for a moment to recover its life-like expression. The unearthly smile played once more over the rosy cheeks: the white beard beneath seemed whiter, and the thin, stretched-out fingers paler and more transparent than ever."

He had desired that his body should rest in his new church dedicated to St. Peter, "to whom I gave myself both living and dead." Eight of his liege men bore him on their shoulders from the palace, accompanied by noblemen, governors, monks, priests with tapers and boys with censers, all represented in the Bayeux tapestry. Funeral masses were said for the King's soul every day for nearly a year thereafter. Throngs of poor and distressed visited his tomb and many were relieved, many miracles performed, many stirred to holiness.

The character of Edward the Confessor is increasingly admirable as one studies it. If he was less forceful and impetuous than some sovereigns of England have been, yet his kindness to the poor, his love

of justice and of peace, and his devotion to the church won for him the good will and esteem of his people while living and his canonization after death. His good feeling towards his native country was evidenced in remitting the Danegelt, the chief source of his revenues, and returning much of it already collected to those who had paid it: and of the not large remainder, the value of which in flocks, fields and money he caused to be estimated, he set aside one-tenth for the rebuilding of the Abbey. His own life and that of the Queen were ordered with great simplicity. His name has ever been a favourite in England and has been borne by seven kings.

His leisure time was spent chiefly in superintending the Abbey building, in attendance on worship—he had from infancy delighted in prayer—in reading books of devotion, in conversation with the monks and especially with Abbot Edwin: and, though he was fond of hunting, it seems to have been been his only form of recreation. There can be little doubt that his proper sphere was the cloister. Yet his gentle sway had its powerful influence in the history of the wild Saxon land. And underneath his love of the quiet cloister life and friends, his devotion

to the church, lay a strong innate sense of loyalty to his inheritance, the crown.

"Each one who sees King Edward* is more courteous when he leaves him:
Each one receives there, each one learns, Moderation, sense and good manners."

His long years at the Norman court and in the cultivated society of the monks of the great school in the Jumièges monastery, produced a more polished and agreeable personality than could be found in the wild court of the Saxons and Danes. In person the King was very tall and slender, his complexion unusually fair and rosy, his hair also singularly fair and his hands remarkably slender, delicate and transparent.†

It is usual to speak of Edward the Confessor as lacking in kingly virtues and of his reign as devoid of important results to the country. But even if it be true that in his time no great reforms were instituted, no important laws enacted, yet this seemingly purposeless King wrought much and

*Roman de Rou.

†Wace's *Roman de Rou,* or Romance of Rollo: a chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy. Wace was born in the island of Jersey, c. 1100: educated at Caen in Normandy and was made prebend of the cathedral of Bayeux by Henry II. He wrote as late as 1173, but had intimate acquaintance with some who were present at the battle of Hastings. His story of the lives of the Norman Dukes, beginning with Rollo, the first, is an interesting source of information for students of this period of history.

wisely for future generations when he opened the way to the throne, either of purpose or unconsciously, for William, the Norman Duke, whom (as many allege) he made his heir, believing him to be the best sovereign for England, and, as it proved, he was one of the ablest and most powerful that England ever knew.* Again he wrought wisely when he laid the foundations of a noble church, in a new manner which was soon imitated all over England, and made this church to be a centre of national interest, as he expressly desired that it should be, not only a place of royal burials, but of coronations forever. The splendid royal processions down these aisles (though the cathedral church, the seat of the Bishop of London, is St. Paul's) still perpetuate the memory of this faithful king. And in his life of purity and devotion he set an example which will not be forgotten so long as his name is remembered.

No attempt to secure canonization for the King seems to have been made until 1140, nearly seventy-five years after his death, Gervase being abbot: when Prior Osbert, having prepared an elaborate

*"No man that ever trod this earth was ever endowed with greater natural gifts than William the Conqueror: to no man was it ever granted to accomplished greater things."—Freeman.

account of the life, death and miracles of the King, to present to the Pope, patiently travelled to Rome for this purpose. He returned disappointed, however: money and influence were said to be lacking. But twenty years later the same Osbert, under the powerful patronage of Becket and Henry II, made the same journey, and from the new pope, Alexander II, he joyfully received the Bull creating Edward, son of Ethelred, a saint.

The surname Confessor is first applied to this King in the Bull of canonization of 1163 and was doubtless bestowed on account of his exile and escape from the tyranny of the Pagan Norsemen, as Edward the East Anglican King, by his death in battle with them, had in like manner been raised to the rank of saint and martyr. But it must be conceded that the application is somewhat remote, and was probably suggested to the Pope by certain statements in the letter or in the Life presented by Prior Osbert.

The King's body had rested before the high altar in his new church for nearly a century. In October of the year of his death, William, the conquering Duke, immediately on coming to London after the battle of Hastings, visited the Abbey to give thanks for his victory, and offered

at the altar two caskets of gold, fifty silver marks, and a rich altar cloth. His next care was the grave of Edward the King, his near relative and dear friend, whose body he caused to be placed in a stone chest of great value and over it he spread a rich pall. Nine years later Queen Edith died and William caused her body to be placed with that of the King, and built a tomb "of admirable beauty," delicately wrought with plates of gold and silver.

The King's tomb had once been opened, in the time of Henry I, and the body then pronounced incorrupt. It was now again reverently visited, by the Archbishop and Abbot Lawrence, at midnight, October 13, 1163, and was found entire and recognizable. "The hands and feet they handle as in a living body asleep." The rich pall, the gift of William the Conqueror, wrought in fine gold and silver, they took away: also the fine embroidered robes wrought by the Queen: and from one of these they made three magnificent copes, which were in use at the Abbey so late as 1388. The robes were replaced by others, exquisitely fair.

A costly shrine had been prepared to receive the relics of the new saint, and to this they were now reverently translated, Archbishop Becket presiding at the stately

was thereafter celebrated as St. Edward's ceremony in which Henry II took part. The day of this translation, October 13, Day.

This first shrine of the Confessor consisted of an enamelled casket set on a vaulted sub-structure, so arranged that those who sought healing might place themselves within the arches beneath. An altar, as in Becket's shrine, was erected at the west end, where two figures in gold and silver, one of St. John and one of the Confessor, were set on low pillars on either side. The casket of gold and enamel which contained the relics was so curiously wrought that the value of the workmanship is said to have exceeded even that of the precious materials. Among the treasures offered at this time was an ivory image of the Virgin, the gift of Archbishop Becket, who had promoted the canonization.

The third Translation of the saint's body (if we consider the re-entombing by William the Conqueror as a translation) occurred when the present church was built by Henry III. While it was building, and when the Norman choir was pulled down, the old shrine and its relics were removed either to a temporary place in a chapel or else in the royal palace near

by. Again, on St. Edward's Day, October 13, in 1269, the sacred relics were borne to their new and present resting-place. The King, Henry III, was assisted in this holy duty by his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and by his two sons, Edmund Crouchback and Prince Edward (who became Edward I). All of this part of the church was then in its full beauty of polished marble, brilliant glass, beautiful mosaic pavements, and, more beautiful than all, at least in its costly decoration, was the new shrine in the midst of the chapel. It was a goodly sight, wrote an early chronicler, to see "how reverently it was carried . . . and goodly singing and incensing as has ever been seen and mass was sung."

Sumptuous gifts were showered upon the shrine by kings and princes, in this royal Abbey church. Edward I presented the Scottish Regalia and the golden coronet of Llewelleyn, with various jewels: and Edward II bestowed golden images of the Confessor and the Pilgrim. Throngs of pilgrims came here to worship and to seek for healing and make their grateful offerings for cures performed. Many were the miracles reported. Adam of Usk records that in 1400 "four little bells hanging at the four corners of the

shrine . . . went ringing of their own accord and with more than human power and miraculously sounded four times in one day, to the great awe and wonder of the brethren." A lamp was constantly kept burning before the shrine. In 1269, when the King, by the consent of the Abbot and convent, pledged the jewels belonging to the shrine to foreigners, being necessitated thereto on account of heavy emergencies," the value of these treasures was estimated at £2,557.

In peace the body rested, the object of reverent love and devotion, for all the years between 1269 and 1539. The shrine remained standing, constantly increasing in riches as pilgrims from all England and indeed from all Christendom, came with their treasures of jewels and gold for more than two hundred and seventy years. But in 1539 the monastery was dissolved by Henry VIII, and all of its great wealth which the King had not previously appropriated went to enrich the Royal Treasury. The Confessor's body was hidden away by the monks, and all that remained was the broken basement of the stately shrine, as we see it today.

On the accession of the Roman Catholic Queen Mary, during the revival of the monastic life at Westminster, the Queen

ardently wished to restore the glory of the old shrine. The fragments of the rich basement were brought together: a feretory made of thin wood in the Renaissance design was prepared and a similar structure erected above it, all of which were probably ornamented with mother-of-pearl and painted mosaic, of which some few traces remain. The steps were re-set, but not in their proper place, and the marks worn by kneeling pilgrims are now shown to be out of their original position.

The saint's body was now disinterred, and in 1557 its Translation was one of the solemn fêtes with which Queen Mary entertained her Spanish husband. The royal pair, with the Russian ambassador and other distinguished guests, marched around the cloister in solemn procession, accompanied by the chapter and the choristers, who "sang with marvellous sweetness and rich gifts were offered." Machyn tells us that it was a goodly sight and that there were one hundred lights and much incensing.

Since Queen Mary's time, no attempt has been made to restore the glories of the Confessor's shrine, but a beautiful velvet pall, prepared to adorn it at the time of Edward VII's coronation, has been left in its place, concealing the plain wooden

structure beneath, including the coffin. In 1685, when the scaffolding erected in this chapel at the coronation of James II was removed, it was found that a small opening nearly six inches square had been broken in the coffin lid and the sanctity of the tomb was again invaded by curious hands. It was then seen that the head and teeth of the dead King were sound and firm. A rich enamelled crucifix four inches long was found, having on the reverse side the figure of a Benedictine monk, and on the right arm of the cross the Roman capitals A ZAX and on the left arm A P A C H The cross was hollow, had evidently enclosed a relic and was attached to a beautiful gold chain twenty-four inches long, in which were set four large rubies. King James ordered that the crucifix and chain be removed, and that a strong new coffin of heavy planks two inches thick and barred with iron be made to enclose the old one: and this outer coffin is that which is seen today. It has double hinges two each at the head and feet and five across at the sides, and two iron bars fastened with lead.

The thirteenth century Shrine, the lower

part of which remains, was of great beauty and value as completed by Henry III, and consisted of three stages: the lofty stone basement, rectangular in shape, enriched with mosaics and provided with three arched recesses on each side wherein the sick might be placed for healing: a wooden feretory resting on this base, overlaid with gold plates and studded with gems, containing the coffin: and a wooden cover or canopy to protect the valuable chest beneath, overlaïd with beautiful work, probably so arranged as to be drawn up with a pulley. There was an altar at the west end, as now.

Only the lower stage, the basement, now remains of this beautiful structure, which, for convenience, though not correctly, is called the Shrine: and this, with a single exception, is the only part of a shrine of a mediæval church now remaining in England which retains its original relics. The most costly and valued portion was, of course, the second stage of wood overlaid with gold and encrusted with a great store of gems presented from time to time by royal and other visitors. Beautiful little gold statues set with jewels were placed at intervals around the feretory, among them a figure of St. Peter, the King's patron saint: the Virgin and Child,

enriched with emeralds, garnets and rubies: one of Henry III bearing a model of his church, the gift of Eleanor, Henry's Queen: another representing Our Lord with the Evangelists, and several figures of angels. Beautiful twisted columns lavishly enriched with glass mosaic, once supported the entablature at the east: and similar but smaller columns at the west were detached and supported the golden figures of Edward the Confessor and the Pilgrim, given by Edward II; or else they were placed, as now, close to the basement of the shrine and supported a slab enriched with lozenges of porphyry which formed a reredos for the small altar.

The Purbeck marble basement, which is now standing, is of Italian workmanship, three bays in length, having three trefoiled recesses on the north and south sides, where the sick were placed for healing. All the stone work was richly inlaid with mosaic, the Cosmati work (of which we study later) arranged in a variety of patterns and designs. A low, handsome iron grille now protects the structure.

The six Recesses have trefoiled Gothic heads but rest on Renaissance pilasters. The entire interior of each recess, as well as the supporting pilasters, is covered over with mosaic, but the tesseræ, though

deeply embedded in cement, have been picked out, one by one, by visitors, devout and otherwise. A range of seven panels, alternately large and small, runs at the head of the arched recesses, from which they are separated by a narrow border, the panels once containing lozenges of porphyry, those in the large panels placed angle-wise, and those in the smaller, upright, within an involved guilloche border. The reredos of the altar was formed of six lozenge-shaped porphyry panels, one of which remains. It is doubtful if the twisted columns at east and west are in their original position. They had been broken away and when their fragments were discovered they were re-set by Scott.

The mosaics which appear in the shrine and Henry III's tomb are in themselves of much interest. They are Cosmati work, so called from two members of a Roman family named Cosmas, who seem to have had a monopoly of this sort of mosaic work at the time the shrine was being made, but which was originally derived from Greek sources and was revived and much used in Italy in the thirteenth century. The patterns were produced with small bits of marble sawn into various shapes, arranged in guilloche, triangles, parallelograms, circles, discs and other

designs, and used for pavements of large churches. But the finer work of this sort, to which the term Cosmati is more correctly applied, was enlivened with tesseræ of gold and coloured glass, and was particularly suited to shrines and monuments. It was also well adapted to the enrichment of twisted columns, such as appear on this shrine and in numerous churches of Italy, for the support of images or of Easter candles. Porphyry and precious marbles, often obtained from antique columns, were also freely used. Other families than the Cosmati employed this art and the Confessor's shrine was inscribed with the name Peter, a Roman citizen, brought from Rome by Abbot Ware (but who may have been a Cosmati). The Cosmati work in the cloister of St. John Lateran is signed with the name Vasalletti. The shrine of St. Simplicius Faustinus and Beatrice, formerly in the church of St. Maria Maggiore at Rome, which found its way to Horace Walpole's collection at Strawberry Hill, was of this same Cosmati work, stood twenty-five feet high and was dated 1301.

A great variety of patterns appear in the shrine, as if the artist wrought from a luxuriant imagination and a liberal allowance of material. No two of the arched recesses exhibit the same design and the

rectangular frames which enclose them have the guilloche pattern on the north side and a looped design on the south. At the east end these patterns unite. Beautiful twisted columns enriched with Cosmati work once supported the entablature at the east, one of which remains: and similar but smaller columns at the west support a wide facing or slab enriched with porphyry lozenges which formed a small reredos.

The artist's inscription on the cornice in letters of blue glass three inches high, reads:

Anno Mileno Domini Cum Septuageno
Ét bis cenetno cum completo quasi deno
Hoc opus est factum quod Petrus duxit in actum
Romanus civis homo causam noscere si vis
Rex fuit Henricus sancti praesentis amicus.

The altar at the west end, where masses were said for the repose of the King's soul, was long since dismantled. In its place stands a modern altar, having a miniature Rood, which was consecrated by Bishop Welldon, on the morning of Edward VII's coronation day, August 10, 1902, after the coronation oils had been blessed. Previous to this date, the entire structure of the shrine above and below had been open and the coffin visible from above, from Henry V's chantry: but the rich red velvet pall with gold border, prepared to overlay it during the coronation festivities,

has since been allowed to remain, and only the lower stage is now visible. Other basements of shrines, more or less mutilated, may be seen in the cathedrals of St. Albans, of Ely, of Hereford, Oxford and Chester. The entire height of this structure is fourteen feet nine inches.

So late as the time of the French Revolution, the chapel was held in such esteem by many that the sweepings and dust of the place were carefully preserved and exported in barrels to Spain and Portugal. In the more recent years it has been less considered.* Nightingale, writing in 1815, says that the shrine was neglected, defaced and abused. To this chapel every year, on St. Edward's Day, October 13, devout Roman Catholics come in large numbers, and throughout the entire day, until the closing hours of the Abbey, they may be seen kneeling in prayer or in meditation on the old pavement of Henry III, or perchance holding their children to touch the shrine, which to them is still sacred since it contains the body of a saint.

*Stow (writing c. 1598) said that the chapel contained nothing of value save some Gothic antiquities which served to excite the admiration of the vulgar, and that Henry V's chantry was "unhappy in taste," and its workmanship wretched.

CHAPTER XIV

OTHER TOMBS IN THE CONFESSOR'S CHAPEL

THE grave of Edith, the Saxon Queen of the Confessor, who died in 1075, is supposed to be on the north side of his shrine, but with no memorial. She outlived her royal husband nine years, was beautiful in heart and in life, the gentle daughter of the fierce old Earl Godwin, and sister of Harold, "a rose growing from a prickly briar; as comes the rose from the thorn, came Edith from Godwin." She was well versed in the languages and branches of knowledge of that day, and had excellent executive ability. Her skill in embroidery of gold and silver, in engraving and portraiture, are mentioned by the chroniclers; and the beautiful robes of state which she wrought for the King and in one of which he was buried, were so remarkable that at the first translation of the body they were esteemed of such value that they were removed and made into three copes which are spoken of as magnificent and which continued in use down to the early years

of the fourteenth century. Malmesbury wrote with enthusiasm of the beauty of her mind and of her person, and Ingulphus, the Saxon historian, Abbot of Croyland, records that while he was a lad in the monastery school at Westminster, the Queen used often to stop him and his schoolfellows in her walks, ask them of their progress in Latin, and discuss points of grammar with them. She died at Winchester, and by the Conqueror's orders was buried with her husband in a rich tomb before which a costly lamp was ordered to be kept burning perpetually. At the time that the Confessor was rebuilding the Abbey, the Queen was also rebuilding, in stone, the old wooden minster for the nuns at Wilton, and this was consecrated shortly before the King's death.

Queen Maude, wife of Henry I (d. 1118), known in history as the good Queen Maude, grandniece of the Confessor, is buried on the south side of the shrine. She was a princess of Scotland, and the only one who ever became a queen consort of England, the English Kings usually seeking brides from the Continent. She was for seven years at Wilton Abbey, but resisted attempts to make her a nun. She was said to be fair to look upon (but this statement is made of very

nearly every queen, princess and noblewoman buried in the Abbey, and is not always borne out by illustrations) : to have delighted in music, which she performed with ability: to have been learned, holy and wise. During Lent, she walked barefooted every day to church, clad in sackcloth. She founded the hospital of St. Giles-in-the-Fields. Her marriage to Henry I was much approved, both in England and in Scotland. She died while her husband was engaged in wars in Normandy, much regretted, as she had been much beloved. An interesting portrait of this Queen appears in the Book of the Benefactors of St. Albans, now preserved in the British Museum.

The beautiful tomb of Henry III (d. 1272), the fourth Plantagenet king and the builder of the present Abbey, is fittingly placed in the midst of his work, on the north side of the shrine which he held in such esteem. It is next in age to the Confessor's tomb and shrine and was erected at about the same time. No monument to his memory was needed, however, other than the magnificent church of his rearing.

That he was an able sovereign and a wise ruler, no one ventures to assert. But his private life was free from the blemishes so often recorded against kings, and his

religious zeal was scarcely exceeded by that of the Confessor. He regularly attended three masses a day and often more, with sincere delight: was of refined tastes, a lover of the arts and of literature, and is often quoted as such by Matthew Paris, whose society he often sought and who is his most enthusiastic biographer. He was an affectionate husband and father, kind to his half-brothers, to grateful and to ungrateful relatives of whom he had a large number of both sorts, especially the latter.

Concerning his history as connected with the building and consecration of the church we have already read (v. Chap. III). He had reigned fifty-six years and was a compact, robust little man of sixty-six when he was taken suddenly ill at Bury St. Edmunds, November, 1272, while returning from Norwich where he had been to quell a riot. The recent death of his beloved brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, caused him great sadness. Feeble and suffering, he insisted on hastening to his palace of Westminster, where he died. "The King confessed his sins with all humility,* beating his breast with grief; remitted ill will to all and was then absolved by a prelate, after which he

*Matthew Paris.

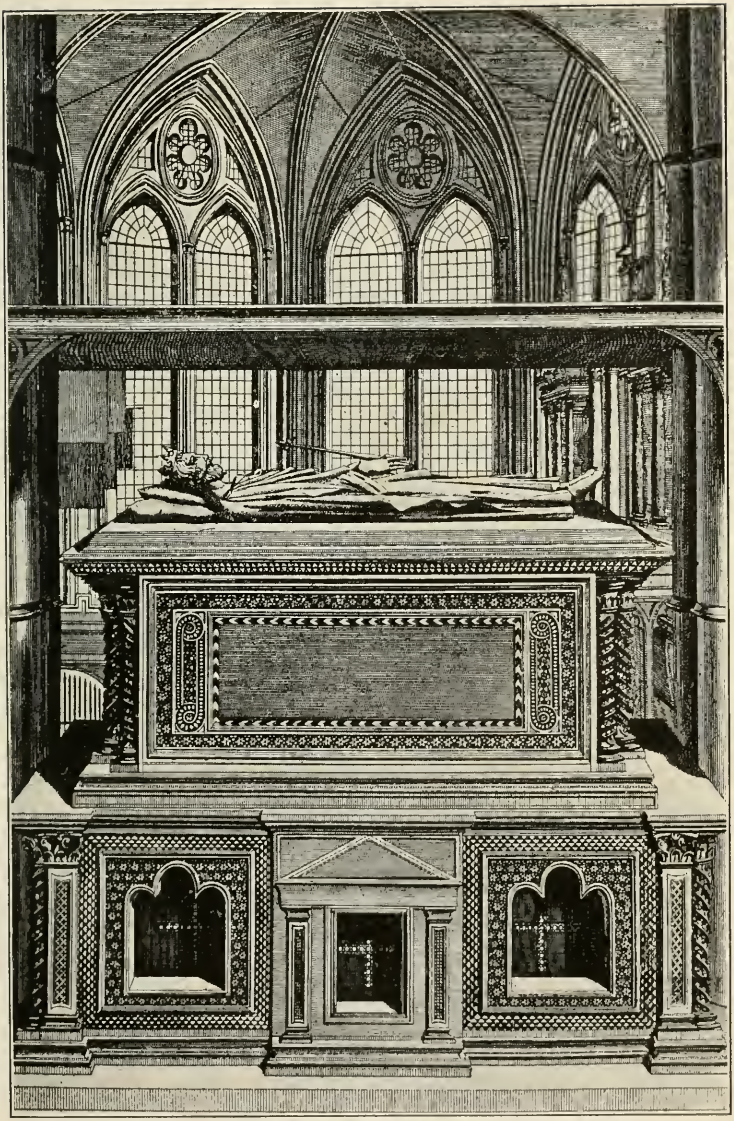
devoutly received the body of Christ, and being anointed with the extreme unction of the church . . . he rendered up his spirit to the Lord. His body was buried with all honour at Westminster."

The King had especially directed that his body should be placed in the coffin in which the Confessor had received his first burial, but which he had replaced with another at the translation of the saint's body, in the belief that he might receive some benefit from its supposed sanctity. Here, then, it was reverently laid, dressed in his richest robes and wearing his crown. The Knights Templars, with the Queen's permission, assumed the entire charge of the magnificent funeral ceremonies. As the body was laid in the grave, the Earl of Gloucester, by the dying request of the King, placed his hand on the coffin, the coffin of St. Edward, and swore fealty to the King's son, Edward I, then absent on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The King's effigy was borne in the procession, magnificently arrayed according to the custom and it was said that he shone more splendidly when dead than he had appeared when living, though he was ever fond of rich attire. His heart he had bequeathed for burial to the Abbey of Fontevraud, where were buried his mother,

Isabella, the widow of King John: his grandparents, Henry II and Eleanor, and his uncle, Richard Cœur de Lion. The Abbess of Fontevraud, who chanced to be visiting in England at this time, received the heart in a rich vase, at the hands of the King's son, Edmund Crouchback, and two bishops.

The beautiful high altar tomb with its bronze effigy stands directly north of the Confessor's tomb, overlooking the ambulatory, and in each tomb, contained in a chest which lies above ground, facing towards the east, rests the remains of these early kings who wrought so generously for the Abbey that we enjoy today. They are separated from each other by scarcely more than the distance of a hand clasp. Henry's monument was one of the most costly of the period and was the loving gift of his faithful son and heir, Edward I, who deeply mourned his father's death.

The tomb bears a striking resemblance to the shrine which it faces, both in design and detail, and was not unlikely wrought by the same hands. The large slabs of porphyry, however, are said to have been brought from the East. It is a high altar tomb of Purbeck, of Renaissance aspect, with scarcely a Gothic feature, having hol-



THE TOMB OF HENRY III

From an engraving by Dart.

lowed out arches or recesses in the base, similar to those in the shrine. On the base rests a marble chest containing the King's body, and bearing a beautiful effigy in bronze: the meagre wooden canopy is of later date. The tomb is elaborately decorated with Cosmati work, but much of the mosaic has been picked out, especially on the chapel side: that on the ambulatory side is out of the reach of predatory hands.

The lower portion or stage is divided into three compartments or recesses, the outer ones trefoiled. Traces of hinges still remain and suggest aumbries where the precious relics, of which this King was unusually fond, or else the rich ornaments used in connection with the Confessor's shrine may have been kept. In the wall at the back of each recess is a cross formed of mosaic. Similar recesses appear in various Roman churches and under the altar of St. Giorgio in Velabro is seen a Confessio with inlaid work and Cosmati ribbon work on twisted columns. The plan of this tomb was doubtless borrowed from Italy either by the artist employed in the Cosmati work or by Edward I, who must have seen many such designs in the course of his travels.

The chest in the second stage contains the King's body. Dean Stanley caused

the outer cover to be removed and an inner coffin was revealed "of splendid oak, smoothly worked, covered with rich crimson cloth of gold: the iron chains and rings by which the coffin was lowered into the tomb still remaining." This chest has on its sides a broad polished slab of red porphyry, fastened in place by Purbeck rosettes and was once decorated with a great profusion of porphyry and serpentine, jasper and glass mosaic of red and gold, presenting a very splendid appearance.

The effigy of bronze rests on a rich bronze slab, supported at the angles by a pair of twisted columns, ornamented, like those on the shrine, with the Cosmati work. The effigy is, however, of later date than the tomb and was wrought by William Torel, an Englishman who also made the effigy of Queen Eleanor. It is not a likeness of the King, being much younger, and much more graceful in outline than was the body of the stout little monarch. According to the custom of that early period, the effigy was simply a conventional royal figure. It is wrought with much skill and one notices the graceful disposition of the hands which once held sceptre and orb; and of the royal mantle thrown over the left shoulder, its border once set with precious stones. The

boots are enriched with fretwork of golden lions and the same decoration appears also on the two pillows, one of which is lozenge-shaped. The apex of an arched recumbent canopy, like that of Queen Eleanor's tomb, remains, but all the rest has been broken away. This fragment is sometimes called a shelf or recess for a relic, but by comparing it with the tomb to the east, made by the same goldsmith at the same time, it is easy to understand its original meaning. The canopy over the tomb is of wood, of later date, and was decorated on its under surface with painted designs. Two steps lead up to the tomb; on the lowest are seen sockets for the posts of a fine iron grille, which once protected the tomb and which was made in Surrey, where ironworking had become almost an art, by an English smith named Henry of Lewes. An inscription in French was formerly to be seen on the north side of the tomb, recording the fact that this king had built the Abbey church.

The small monument with black marble slab to the east of Henry III's, is that of the little Princess Elizabeth Tudor, daughter of Henry VII, three years of age, who died in 1495, more than four centuries ago; but in this quiet corner, at the feet of the Abbey's founder, the infant

Princess daily claims a place of remembrance. The monument was brought here evidently from the Early English Lady chapel, at its rebuilding, since the child died before her father and mother, and before the new chapel was undertaken. On the slab once rested a cradle or else an effigy, with an inscription, the metal attachments for which remain. The Lady Elizabeth died at Eltham Palace, ten miles from London, and had "a most splendid funeral." Her body was placed in a draped black chair and so drawn to Westminster by six horses. The black hearse set in the chair had a border of red and white roses. At the Abbey gate the Prior met the cortege with great ceremony.

The tomb of Edward I (d. 1307), son of the founder, Henry III, a plain, high Purbeck altar tomb, commemorating one of the best of England's sovereigns, stands at the head of that of his father, the two so tenderly attached resting thus near each other. No greater contrast could be imagined than this plain tomb of the son, bearing no suggestion whatever of ornament or rich material, and the handsome monument of the father, prepared by this son's own care. Several reasons have been assigned for the present almost rude

appearance of Edward's tomb: (1) the unworthy son, Edward II, selfishly spent on himself the sums intended for a fitting monument; (2) that the tomb was thus left unadorned on account of the biennial cering ordered by the King's will, or (3) that it was once painted and gilded, or else intended to be covered over by a rich pall and may have had an effigy. It was protected on the ambulatory side by an iron grille of much beauty, having at one of its angles a finely carved head supposed to represent the King.

The tomb now stands three feet nine inches high, nine feet seven inches long, and rests on a basement of two steps. The inscriptions on the north side, painted in yellow letters on a black band, of much later date, read: *Scotorum malleus* (the hammer of the Scots), and *Pactum Serva* (keep faith), a motto to which the King was true.

The King died while on an expedition to Scotland, July 7, 1307. He had been taken ill the previous October and with his queen sought shelter at Lanercost monastery, where they remained five months. Thinking his health sufficiently restored, he advanced towards Scotland but again yielded to disease and died at Burgh-on-Sands. As he lay dying he ordered that

his heart should be removed from his body and sent to the Holy Land in charge of seven score knights who were to serve there for one year: and that his bones should be carried by his son from place to place, at the head of the army, so that he might lead to victory and that they should not be buried until Scotland was utterly subdued. None of these directions seem to have been carried out. The body was taken to Waltham Abbey, thence, after tarrying for three months, was conveyed to London, resting on the way, (as did the body of Queen Eleanor), in various churches. The last night was spent in the church of the Friars Minor in London, and thence the body was conveyed in an open chariot to Westminster Abbey in the presence of an immense concourse of people and masses were sung by the Cardinal of Spain and five bishops.

The King was twice married, first to Eleanor of Castile, who died in 1290, and whose death he is said to have mourned as long as he lived: and nine years later to Marguerite of France, he being sixty and she twenty. The pretty young French bride employed a chronicler, one John of London, to record the daily life of the King and in the quaint Latin manuscript which still exists much of personal interest

is found. Edward I is there described as having "a spherical head, round eyes, gentle and dovelike when pleased, but fierce and sparkling with fire when he was disturbed": his chest broad, and so strong and active that he could leap into his saddle by merely putting his hand on it: passionately fond of hunting and hawking, seldom ill-tempered. After his coronation he never wore his crown, it is said, and went about in the plain garb of a citizen excepting on days of festival. "What could I do more in royal robes, father, than in this plain gabardine?" he once said to a bishop who remonstrated with him on his attire as unkingly. Edward was six feet two inches tall and of fine proportions: the epithet Longshanks was applied to him by his enemies, but he had "the long, nervous arms of a swordsman."

Both the King and his second Queen Marguerite were great lovers of music and in the King's Household Book is an account of money paid to Walter Lord, the harper of Chichester, because he had been found playing on his harp before the tomb of St. Richard in Chichester Cathedral: and another record of paying the harper for playing while the king was bled. The young Queen was a sincere

mourner. She did not marry again and died ten years later. Her two sons were Thomas, Earl of Norfolk, and Edmund of Woodstock.

Matthew Paris records the strong affection existing between Edward I and his father and says that when the latter heard that his son would go on a crusade, he was moved to tears by his son's piety. Edward is said to have died with words of faith in God on his lips. As the founder, in a sense, of the English parliamentary system, he left an enduring monument, as did his father, in this Abbey church. The coffin was opened in 1774 and found to be three inches thick. The King's body was dressed in royal robes with a dalmatic of red silk damask and over this a broad white tissue stole was crossed on his breast. A crimson satin mantle was fastened on the left shoulder with a fibula of gems. In his right hand was a long sceptre with a cross: in the left a rod, the top terminating in three sets of oak leaves of green enamel surmounted by a dove in white enamel. The outer wrapping was a cloth of gold and within he wore a cloth of linen waxed, each finger being separately enveloped by the waxed linen and the face was covered in the same manner so that the features could be distinctly traced.

"The resurrectors* barbarously embedded the body, vestures, crown and sceptre in pitch, so that the ashes could never again be violated. The cering continued so long as the dynasty lasted, that is, until the fall of Richard II. A heavy wooden canopy once covered the tomb but at the midnight funeral of the Earl of Bath, who was buried in the north aisle, a mob broke into the church and the mourners, seeking refuge in this chapel, defended themselves with rafters which they broke out of the canopy. The iron railing which guarded this tomb was destroyed at the same time. On the ledge of the basement of the tomb is the word *Regina,* which suggests an earlier royal occupant.

Eleanor of Castile, the first queen of Edward I (d. 1290), has her beautiful tomb at the east of that of her father-in-law, Henry III, by whom she was tenderly loved. She was the daughter of Ferdinand III of Castile, and of that Joanna, Countess of Ponthieu, whom, in his youth, Henry III had set aside after marriage negotiations were begun, in order to marry Eleanor of Provence. Eleanor of Castile was a pretty child of ten in 1254 when Prince Edward, only ten years older, came to Burgos with his

*Wall.

mother to celebrate his betrothal. As both the mother and the grandmother of the young girl had been set aside by an English sovereign, Eleanor's brother, the Spanish King Alphonso stipulated that if Prince Edward failed to come to Burgos for his bride five weeks before Michelmas Day, 1254, the contract should be broken: and this time the prince appeared.

At Bordeaux, after the betrothal, Henry III met the Queen and young Eleanor, and here he entertained the little bride with a magnificent banquet on which he spent 30,000 marks. The child seems to have remained at Bordeaux to complete her education, while the Prince went wandering about, a knight errant, "haunting tournaments." In 1265, the young Eleanor, grown to be a beautiful young lady of twenty, landed at Dover, and was received with great rejoicing as the bride of the future King: but for this last honour she waited seven years longer. She proved a wise counsellor to the high-spirited prince, often disposing him to clemency and interceding with success for those who had incurred his displeasure. Her beautiful children delighted their grandfather, who increased her revenues on account of his pleasure in her promising family.

The Queen accompanied the Prince to the Holy Land on his crusade in 1270, and when the ladies of her court tried to dissuade her, representing the perils of the journey, she replied, "The way to heaven is as near, if not nearer, from Syria as from England, or my native Spain."

In the autumn of 1290, while travelling to join the King in Lincolnshire, she was seized with a lingering illness at the mansion of Richard de Weston at Hardeby, five miles from Lincoln. A physician of the King of Aragon was sent for and medicines ordered from Lincoln. The King hastened to her with all speed and, according to some authorities, was able to reach her bedside before she died, Nov. 28, 1290. It was then said that the King had lost the jewel which he most esteemed. He determined to honour the last journey of the Queen to Westminster, and himself joined the procession which travelled on to London for thirteen days. In imitation of the progress of the funeral train of St. Louis to St. Denis he arranged for the erection of twelve beautiful sculptured stone crosses, one at each place where the body rested for a night.*

*St. Louis, or Louis IX of France, it will be remembered, had gone with Edward I on the eighth

The last cross in Eleanor's honour was erected in London, and from the King's affectionate manner of calling her his *chère reine,* it was called the cross of La Chere Reine, long since corrupted into Charing Cross. This was originally of wood but was replaced by one of stone and was finished by Roger de Cruntade some time after, in 1293. The present cross reproduces the original so far as possible and was built in 1863. It stands 70 feet high, and has eight statues of the Queen, four as Queen, with royal insignia, and four with the attributes of a Christian woman. An angel kneels at each statue. The original stone cross was demolished in 1647, and a part of its stone furnished paving for Whitehall. It probably stood where the equestrian statue of Charles I is now seen, at the lower corner of Trafalgar Square.

The sad procession was met near London* by the entire nobility with clergy, just as the Queen had been royally welcomed five and thirty years before when she came

and last crusade, in 1240; and at Tunis the French king had died of pestilence. His body was taken to Paris and thence borne on men's shoulders all the way to St. Denis, four and a half miles, and crosses were set up in his honour wherever the body rested. They were intended not only as memorials but also to remind passers-by to offer prayers for the repose of the dead.

*Walsingham.

to London a bride. The funeral was celebrated with all possible honour and the King liberally endowed the Abbey for masses and dirges to be said for her soul. Many candles were lighted at her tomb and two wax tapers were ordered to be kept burning before it day and night, perpetually. The Queen's heart was given, in a rich vase, to the Church of the Black Friars, London: her entrails to Lincoln Cathedral, where a beautiful monument, with effigy, similar to that in the Abbey, was erected and has lately been restored.

The tomb of the Queen was simple, choice in design and beautiful in its workmanship. Both the King and Queen were conspicuous patrons of the arts of the period: and at this time casting in bronze had been brought to great perfection. It was therefore fitting that the tomb should bear the finest effigy in bronze that could possibly be made.

The effigy is better seen from within the chapel than from the aisle. Like that of Henry III, it is supposed to be conventional, and can scarcely be a portrait as the Queen was probably forty-six years old at her death and the effigy is that of a much younger person. The features are serene and lovely: the hair long and curling, the hands noticeably delicate, and refinement

and grace appear in every line. The sleeves, coronet and the cord of the mantle have hollows which once contained precious stones. Flemish coin to the value of 476 florins was bought to supply gold for the rich gilt covering which once entirely overlaid the figure. All the details are similar to those of Henry III's effigy. The bronze slab and both pillows are decorated in black enamel with a square diaper pattern, each square containing a castle (for Castile) or a lion.

For the two beautiful effigies of his father and his Queen, the King paid over £1,700, each being overlaid with gold, and their value was such that they were exhibited only on festival occasions. The furnace for casting the effigies was set up in St. Margaret's church yard, near the north transept door, and the work was under the careful and personal supervision of the King himself. The marble work was executed by Richard de Cruntade, who also wrought the original Charing Cross, and though much worn away by contact with many passers-by—for the tomb is now more than six centuries old—it is still beautiful. On the north and the south face is an arcade of four arches, with crockets and finials, and in each is represented a shield depending from oak leaves,

bearing the arms of Castile, a castle, and of Leon, a lion *rampant:* of England, three lions *passant, guardant,* and of Porthieu, for her mother, three bendlets within a bordure.

The table is of Purbeck with moulded edges, on which rests a brass slab bearing on its verge the inscription in Saxon characters which, translated, reads: Here lies Eleanor, formerly Queen of England, wife to King Edward, son of King Henry, daughter of the King of Spain, and the Countess of Ponthieu: upon whose soul may God for His pity have mercy." The beautiful recumbent brass canopy over the head has rich crockets and finials and at the angles of the trefoiled arch appear two cherubs wrought with exquisite skill. On the exterior of the canopy is a curious overlapping ornament which suggests the lotus leaf. The sockets on the slab were for the insertion of candles that were kept burning on the tomb, day and night, for two hundred years, it is said, and were to have been perpetual. The fifteenth century wooden canopy above the tomb is richer than that of Henry III, and replaced an earlier one of much greater beauty. The under side is divided into panels, each of which once contained a painting.

On each St. Andrews Eve, the anniversary of her death, one hundred candles were to be lighted at this tomb. So careful was the King to ensure remembrance of his Queen, that each Abbot of Westminster was bound by solemn oath, before entering on his office, to continue these anniversary services, and the charter requiring the obit was read aloud in the chapter house each year. To all who should pray for the Queen's soul within the Abbey, indulgence was given for five years and 215 days.

When Henry V's chantry was erected, the foot of the Queen's tomb was built over and in part concealed by sculptured work. The whole structure, except the effigy, appears in its full extent and is much more interesting from the aisle than from within the chapel.

The Grille is famous among the iron art products of this century and is known as the Eleanor Grille. It is the delicate and beautiful wrought iron work of an English blacksmith, Thomas de Leghton, the pattern being of scrolls and foliage intermingled, and small heads of animals. There are eleven principal divisions of the scroll work, each of a different design, and the whole very much resembles a grille at St. Denis which the artist may have

seen.* Rich ironwork is said to have culminated, in England, in this Eleanor Grille. "A peculiar treatment of flowers and leaves sprang up in this century in imitation of the ornaments which were being carved in wood or stone, or painted on walls or used in stained glass. Dies made of iron were carved out into which the hot iron was beaten, thus taking the impress of the carved flower or leaf by the same kind of process as a seal is made, except that the hot iron is laid upon the swage or die and beaten into it."†

The arcade on the base of the tomb on the aisle side retains its six shields of arms, like those on the south side.

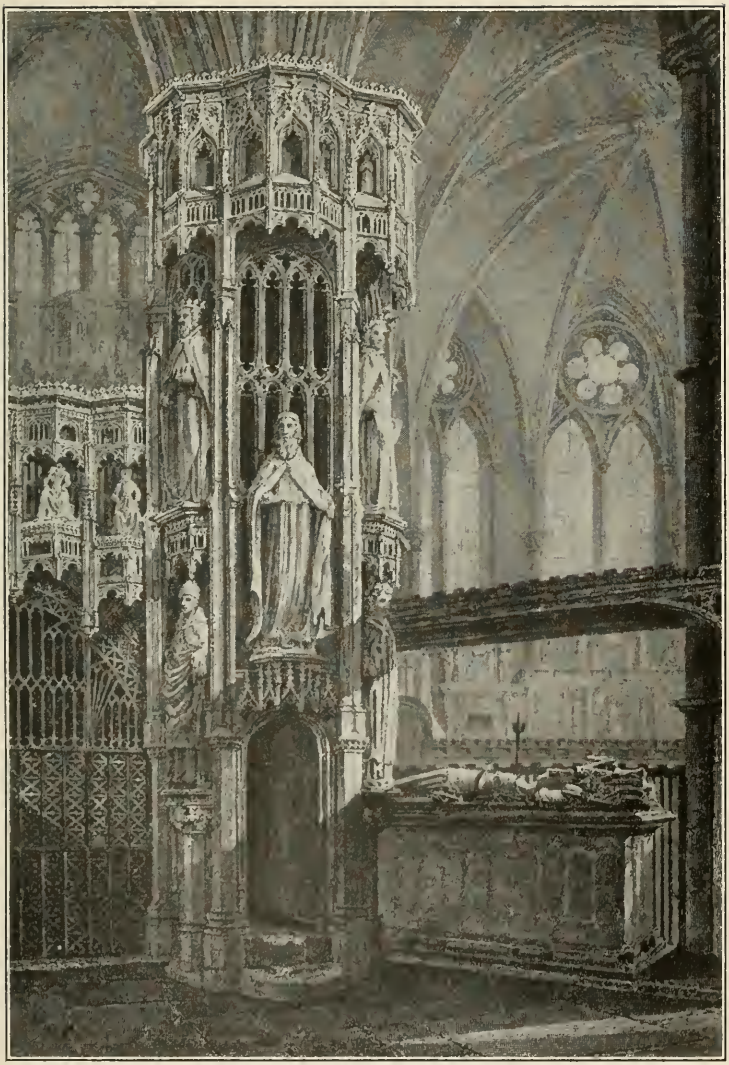
The Tomb and Chantry of Henry V. The entire east end of the Confessor's chapel is overlaid by the splendid sculptured stone chantry screen and tomb of Henry V, the victor of Agincourt (d. 1422), one of the finest royal chapels

*J. Starkie Gardiner's "Ironwork," p. 81.

†At the Church of All Saints at Leighton Buzzard is a very handsome hinge, of almost the same style and workmanship as this grille and very probably made by the same hand. "The difficulty of forging straight bars into such perfect curves can scarcely be appreciated by those who have never attempted to 'bend the stubborn iron': and then to weld them together without distortion involves not only dexterity of hand but singular truth of eye as well."—Wyatt's Metal Work, p. 3.

in Europe, though the tomb itself is surpassed by many within and outside of the Abbey.

Its plan considerably resembles that of a gateway to a mediæval castle, the tomb with effigy resting under the central entrance arch: while the octagonal towers containing each a stone staircase to the chapel on the floor above, form some resemblance in design to the letter H, every part of the external surface of towers and chantry being richly concealed by sculptured niches, figures and carved groups enriched with various emblems and devices. But this is only the west face of the monument. The main portion of the chapel is continued back of the two towers, above the ambulatory at the east, the floor of this chapel forming a bridge over the aisle to the vestibule of Henry VII's chapel, but having no connection with the latter. The outer walls of the sides of the chantry chapel are seen only from the aisles. The entire monument cannot be seen from any one point, and as a work of art is far more successful in its sumptuous detail than in its general design. As favourable a point for study as any is near the head of Henry III's effigy on the north side of the Confessor's chapel.



The Tomb of Queen Philippa; part of Henry V's Chantry Chapel

Henry V was one of the best-beloved and most admired of all the early English sovereigns. He was a graceful, handsome, agile knight with dark, sparkling eyes, rosy complexion and a haughty curl to his lips, and since he died in his thirty-fourth year left no remembrance of anything but youthful energy. He was of such marvellous great strength* and so passing swift in running, that he, with two of his lords, without hands, bow or other engine would take wild buck or doe in a large parke." Fuller writes with admiration of his strength and hardihood, "neither shrinking in cold nor slothful in heat, going commonly with his head uncovered: the wearing of armour no more cumbersome to him than a cloak."

Enthusiastically applauded as a military hero, the glamour of his romantic history still lingers about the name of the second Lancastrian King. He was the eldest son of Henry IV and Mary de Bohun, the daughter and co-heir of the Earl of Hertford, and a lad of six or seven when his mother died. His early taste for music—he played on the harp and organ and composed music—was fostered by his grandmother, the Countess of Hertford, and at Oxford, where

*Thomas de Elmham.

he came under the guidance of Henry Beaufort. But at sixteen we find him fighting for his father at Shrewsbury, and his career in the next following years was rather that of a gay prince indulging in the follies and madcap pranks of youth. The story of his father's death, and of the Prince appropriating the crown while he yet lived are well known: as is the excellent character which the young king bore after the responsibilities of manhood and kingship fell on him.

The brilliant victory of Agincourt in 1415, when he was twenty-eight, and had been king but two years, was the central event of his nine years' reign. He was enthusiastically received on his return to England and marched in solemn procession, but simply dressed as a mailed warrior, to Westminster Abbey, to celebrate his victory by a service of thanksgiving. After a long and persistent endeavor to obtain a very large dowry from her father, he was married to Katherine of Valois in 1420, and their strange wedding journey was in continuation of the war which he was carrying on with France with almost unparalleled cruelty and bloodshed. He never conquered the whole of France, hence was never its king: but by the Treaty of Troyes in 1420, he

was to become king on the death of Charles VI, the father of his queen, and he ruled as regent.

Two years later, Henry V died at the castle of Vincennes, August 31, 1422 "a sore and a fervent maladie him assaulted and from day to day him grievously vexed." His beautiful young Queen was with him at the last and the King begged his brother to comfort her, "the most afflicted creature living." His body was embalmed with spices, anointed with precious balsams, wrapped in fine linen, cased in lead and then deposited in a wooden coffin covered with silk. An effigy of prepared leather, curiously painted to resemble the King and dressed in royal robes with purple mantle furred with ermine, bearing sceptre and orb, and wearing a costly crown, was placed in the chariot above his body, the face upturned, and the chariot drawn by four great horses whose trappings bore the arms of France and of England. The Queen, but two years a wife, and her ladies, followed the funeral train at a meek distance of two miles, "but keeping her husband's corpse in view." Four hundred men-at-arms in black armour, their lances pointing downward, rode on black chargers next the body, and a great company

clothed in white, bearing wax torches lighted, encompassed the procession.*

So by Abbeville, Hesdin, Montreuil, Boulogne, Calais and Dover, they went on, approaching London, where fifteen bishops and as many mitred abbots with a great company of priests and people met them: and all the way from Blackheath the priests chanted orisons for the King's soul and each householder stood at his door bearing a lighted torch. "Never had a royal funeral been so royal."†

The King's Will, dated "in the walled city of Southampton, 1415,"‡ directed that twenty thousand masses be said for his soul: that his body be buried in the Confessor's chapel to the east, and that over the tomb be made a high place to be ascended by steps on one side and descended at the other, in which high place were to be exhibited the relics which had formerly been shown at the east end of the Confessor's chapel. An altar was to be founded here, the altar of the Annunciation, where three masses were to be said each day for the repose of the King's soul.

The tomb was built under the supervision of Henry's queen, "handsome Kate"

*Stowe.

†Wall.

‡Rymer's *Foedera.*

of Valois. The name of the builder is not stated, but as Henry's architect-in-chief was Alexander of Beneval who erected the later portion of St. Ouen at Rouen, it is not unlikely that the design and direction of the splendid tomb are due to him.

It is of Purbeck, with traceried sides, once decorated, it seems probable, with sculptured groups of alabaster or bronze. The flat panels at the ends may have contained paintings. The effigy was of oak overlaid with silver plates, and the head, feet and hands were of solid silver. As it was prepared under the Queen's direction, no doubt the effigy was a portrait. All the silver, including the head, was broken off and carried away in Henry VIII's time, and what now remains is little more than a shapeless block, badly warped. The shield and helmet which are suspended with saddle on a bar high over the tomb, long thought to be those "which did affright the air at Agincourt," were only a part of the funeral trappings. The iron grille separating the tomb from the Confessor's chapel is contemporary ironwork of much interest. The design is of small squares, each containing four trefoils divided by curious pierced bars. The entire grille is separated into twelve compartments,

painted alternately in blue and red: in each blue compartment are three fleur-de-lis: in each red one, three lions, for France and England: while near the middle of the gates was placed a row of swans for the de Bohuns, his mother's family and a row of antelopes, only fragments of which remain.

That portion of the monument which can be seen within the Confessor's chapel is by far the most beautiful and interesting. It consists of two octagonal turrets, facing west and containing spiral staircases, as already described, the west face of the entrance arch being between these two turrets, and the entire surface covered with figures in richly canopied niches. In the nine large niches of the turrets are life-size figures of various saints and benefactors of the Abbey, with smaller saints and angels, and numerous emblems carved on the buttresses and pillars. All but three of the original statues remain. The niches are pierced at the back with window-slits which light the staircases leading to the chantry above, the ascent being made, as the King's will directed, on one side, and the descent on the other. The sides of the stairway within are richly panelled and the inner sides of the small doors are beautifully wrought. The

small steps to each turret door are deeply worn by the knees of pilgrims going up to the chantry to view the relics. Among the interesting statues notice over the south door the figure of a saint or sovereign, with gentle face, long robes and beard, probably the Confessor: and on the opposite side, over the door, a venerable man in pilgrim's garb, probably St. John: one in deacon's vestments is probably St. Stephen: St. Barbara and St. Catherine are also represented: and on pedestals north of the south door and south of the north door, two figures, a bishop or a mitred abbot, holding up the folds of a long robe, probably St. Wulstan and St. Dunstan. Two figures above holding models of a church probably represent the two founders and church builders: a figure on the north side of the north tower is called St. Margaret, with the dragon at her feet. All the details of these interesting figures are well worth study.

The little chantry chapel directly over the King's tomb was the first in the Abbey given by a king and was placed high in order to attract attention, sympathy and prayers for the king's soul; also that the priests officiating at the altar might be seen by the people in the church below. To the support of its altar, called the

altar of the Annunciation, the king left £100 and provided that three monks should daily say three masses for his soul. To it also he bequeathed rich plate and vestments and ordered that eight wax candles, each to weigh eight pounds, should be kept burning during mass and that for a whole year thirty poor people were to recite in the chapel the Psalter of the Virgin, closing with these words: "Mother of God, remember thy servant, Henry, who puts his whole trust in Thee."* The chantry is not now shown to visitors, because the two old stone stairways in the towers have become insecure. Looking over the west wall of the parapet, before the present pall was placed over the Confessor's shrine below, the coffin of the Confessor could be seen quite plainly.

At the east end of the chantry stands the altar on a platform of two steps, having its early Purbeck slab marked with the five crosses for the five wounds of Christ. This was long displaced and formed a part of the pavement. Within this altar now rest the bones of Katherine of Valois (d. 1437), the queen of Henry V, youngest daughter of the French king, but two years married to the English king. She had her place of burial made at last in this

*Rymer's *Foedera.*

beautiful chantry which was erected by her own loving care: but only since Dean Stanley's time has she had honourable burial here.

At the death of Henry V in 1422, Queen Katherine, left with her infant son (Henry VI), numbered in her retinue a brave and handsome young Welsh soldier named Owen Tudor, who had been promoted to be one of the squires of the king's body on account of his valour at Agincourt. This office he continued to the child-king, keeping guard over the royal infant and also serving as Clerk of the Queen's Wardrobe and keeper of her jewels. Not unnaturally, the beautiful French widow and the young soldier became mutually interested and they were at length, not later than five or six years after the king's death, married privately. Four children were born to them: the eldest being Edmund Tudor, the father of Henry VII.*

When the marriage of the Queen and Owen Tudor became known, the nation, indignant at the *mesalliance,* imprisoned

*The other children were Jasper, created Earl of Pembroke by his half-brother, Henry VI, a helpful uncle to his young nephew, Henry VII: Owen, who became a monk of Westminster, and is buried in the Poets' Corner: and Margaret, a daughter who died in infancy.

Tudor in Newgate, but he made a manly plea before the young king and was released. Later, he, with his second son, Jasper, commanded a Lancastrian army at the battle of Wakefield and was defeated at Mortimer's Cross. The son retreated—the father, with true Welsh obstinacy, it is said, refused to leave the field, was imprisoned and later was beheaded in Hereford market-place. Though his birth was at that time considered obscure, yet there seems to be no doubt that Owen Tudor traced his line to Theodore, a prince of North Wales (Theodore being corrupted to Tudor in the English pronunciation), and a tradition exists that he was godson of the famous chief Glendower.

In 1436, when suspicions of her second marriage became current in the Court, Queen Katherine withdrew to the Abbey of Bermondsey, "either for refuge or under some constraint": her children were taken from her by order of the Council, to her very great distress and anguish of mind: her infant daughter, Margaret, died. Her son, Henry VI, though king of England, was but a lad of fourteen and was helpless to aid his mother: her husband was in exile or imprisoned. Thus bereft of children, husband and home, the

unfortunate queen lost courage, fell ill and died in 1437. The pitying nuns attended her faithfully to the last. The Queen's body lay in state in the church of St. Katherine's by the Tower: was then removed to St. Paul's and so on to Westminster, and was buried in the Early English Lady chapel, probably near the present steps up to Henry VII's chapel, which would also be near her husband, Henry V. An altar tomb was later erected to her memory by her son, Henry VI, bearing a Latin epitaph.

When Henry VII was buried, or at about that time, for some reason the Queen's body seems to have been exhumed: and being found in a remarkable state of preservation, and Henry VIII showing no disposition to restore her tomb according to his father's intentions, the body was carelessly wrapped to the waist in a piece of lead taken from the roof of the old chapel and placed in a rude box having a loose cover and thrust into a vacant space under the beautiful chantry which she had so carefully provided for Henry V. In this lamentable condition it was seen and handled, for more than three centuries, by any one who chose to pay two pence for the privilege. So Weever

describes it* in the time of Charles I: so Pepys, after the Restoration, writing on his birthday, speaks of handling the body and "kissing a queen." So late as 1793, it was still an object of vulgar exhibition: but the attention of the Dean and chapter being called to the matter by Hutton's "Tour Through the Sights of London," the poor remains, rifled and stolen until only a small part of the original remained, were transferred to the Villiers vault in the chapel of St. Nicholas. Thence they were finally removed, in 1878, by Dean Stanley's kindly care, at the instance of Queen Victoria, to an honourable resting-place under the altar of Henry V's beautiful chantry, where they now remain,not far from the original place of their sepulture.

The reredos of the altar in Henry V's chapel consists of seven lofty canopied niches containing large figures, three on either side of a central group, now destroyed, representing the Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St. John: St. George of England; St. Denis of France (the king having possessions in both countries): St. Edmund and St. Gabriel. A richly decorated closet or press is seen in the wall on either side of the chantry, opening from above by sliding doors, now

*Weever's Funeral Monuments.

Reredos of Henry V's Chantry Chapel

removed, in which relics and probably rich vestments were stored. There were spikes in the wall on either side of these recesses where candles were placed to be lighted when the relics were exposed to view.

It will be remembered that an altar with a place for relics formerly stood at the east end of the Confessor's chapel below, which was displaced when this chapel was built and the relics were then transferred to this chantry, and arrangements made for displaying them to pilgrims as they mounted the little stone stairways in the towers. Among the relics thus carefully treasured and exhibited were the Blessed Virgin's girdle wrought by her own hands: a stone bearing the imprint of our Lord's feet when he rose from the dead: one of the six jars in which water was made wine at Cana of Galilee: frankincense offered by the Magi, the gift of the Confessor: a piece of the seamless robe, the scourge, the sponge, and bread blessed by our Lord at the Last Supper: and a piece of the manger in which Christ was born, said to be the gift of Sebert.

The outer walls of this chapel as seen from the ambulatory are carved with ranges of figures and groups under rich canopies and with various emblems, arms and devices. The central group on each

side is a Coronation Scene, set within a square panel, with several attending figures, probably courtiers, in smaller niches. The group on the north side is supposed to represent the coronation of Henry V in England: that on the south may represent that of his queen. In a hollow moulding at the base appear various emblems and arms, including the swan and antelope, emblem of the de Bohuns, his mother's family: the flaming beacon or cresset light, adopted by the King as a badge after his coronation, "indicating that he would strive to be a light and guide to his people to follow him in all virtue and honour," or else to indicate that he would now live a pure and holy life: the white hart of Richard II, chained: and a stork holding a fish. The figures on the north side are better preserved than those on the south.

On the north side of the Confessor's chapel, as we have seen, the tombs of the family of Henry III are grouped around the King: on the south side of the chapel rest Henry III's great-grandson, Edward III, with his Flemish queen, Philippa: Richard II, grandson of Edward III, with his first queen, Anne of Bohemia; and Thomas of Woodstock, the youngest son of Edward III, but with no monument.

Queen Philippa of Hainhault (d. 1369), queen of Edward III, has her beautiful tomb in the eastmost bay of the south side, overlooking the south ambulatory. Sir John Froissart, for several years her secretary, tells the romantic story of her early attachment to the King when he visited her father's court, a prince of 15, with his harassed mother, Isabella of France, seeking refuge from her enemies. The Count of Hainhault had four daughters, but it was Philippa, "of roseate hue and beauty bright," who won his affection: and in 1327 Bishop Adam de Orleton, being sent over to select a wife for the young King, happily and doubtless not without some private suggestion from the King, made choice of the beautiful Philippa. They were married at York minster, Edward being in the midst of his Scotch wars, but the Queen's coronation was deferred for two years.

The rosy, perhaps buxom, Flemish girl proved a kindly, affectionate and wise queen, and Froissart describes her as the most courteous, liberal and noble lady that reigned in her day. Of her many deeds of generosity and courage, two only may be mentioned. During the King's absence at the siege of Calais, the Scotch began secretly to prepare for an invasion of Eng-

land. When this came to the Queen's knowledge, she collected all the forces she could command, and marching northward defeated the enemy at Neville's Cross. Before the battle she rode among the troops on her white charger, with her splendid retinue, displaying the wealth of her country, and encouraged the army for the contest. She took King David prisoner, and having provided for the defense of Durham and York, set out for London, put her royal prisoner in the Tower, and went over to Calais to report her transaction to the King.

The story of the six citizens of Calais who offered themselves to the King in order to save the town, and came, as he directed, into his presence barefooted and bareheaded, with halters around their necks, bringing the keys of the town, is very well known. The King at once ordered them to be beheaded: but the Queen, on her knees, with tears in her eyes, entreated him to spare them. "Ah, gentle sir," she said, "since I have crossed the sea with great danger to see you, I have never asked one favour: now I most humbly ask as a gift, for the sake of the Blessed Mary and for your love to me, that you will be merciful to these six men." The King could do no less than pardon

them: and the Queen provided them with fresh clothing in place of that long worn: gave them a bountiful dinner, and six nobles to each man, and had them escorted out of the camp in safety.* However, she kept her Scotch king a prisoner in the tower for nine long years.

A lasting and substantial benefit which the Flemish Queen conferred upon her adopted country was the introduction, at Norwich, of a company of Flemish cloth weavers of wool, with workers of all sorts necessary, an industry which proved of the greatest possible advantage to the people, furnishing employment to a large proportion of the inhabitants of Norwich for five centuries: and she also introduced the coal industry in Newcastle. The Queen was a friend of Chaucer, who had married Philippa Roet, daughter of a knight attending her from Hainhault, and mentioned in the Queen's will. Her son, John of Gaunt, married Catherine (Roet) Swynford for his third wife. Her oldest son, the Black Prince, died before his father: hence no son of hers reigned in England, the successor of Edward III being her grandson, Richard II. Queen's College, Oxford, founded by her confessor, was named for this queen.

*Froissart.

Queen Philippa's tomb on the south side of the chapel at the east was designed by a Flemish artist, Hawkin de Liege, and is one of the most beautiful in the Abbey, though badly marred. The foot of it, like that of Queen Eleanor in the opposite aisle, is partly concealed by the sculptured work of Henry V's chantry. Blore said of it: "In point of style and beauty, almost without parallel." Much of it was wrought during the Queen's life, for a record exists of £133 being paid to the artist in 1366: but it was not complete with all its beautiful series of alabaster figures until ten years after her death, when John Orchard, "latiner," received £5 for making divers figures of angels for the canopy. The iron grille which protected it was purchased at second-hand from Bishop Michael of Norbury's tomb in St. Paul's.

It is an altar tomb of black marble with effigy and decorations of alabaster and a wooden canopy. The alabaster effigy shows the plain but smiling face of a lady in middle life, of full habit, which, somewhat unfairly, represents the Queen after illness robbed her of beauty, and is the earliest portrait effigy in the Abbey. The robe and mantle are long, with long sleeves seamed with pearl: the hair is rolled at the sides and a reticulated head-

dress is an interesting feature of this fourteenth century lady's costume. The head rests on a draped cushion, deeply indented, the drapery once held by two angels whose little stone hands still remain, one of each. A lion and a lioness are at the feet. The beautiful recumbent canopy of alabaster is supported by traceried pillars which once contained seventy small figures of alabaster "all in sweetly carved niches," representing relatives of the Queen and King; and when entire must have formed a very interesting feature of this handsome tomb. They included the Queen's father, mother, husband, her daughter, Margaret, the Countess of Pembroke, a friend of Chaucer: her son, the Black Prince, and his wife, the fair Joan of Kent: her sons, Lionel, John of Gaunt, Edmund and Thomas, with others of more remote kinship; and at her feet the five kings of Navarre, Bohemia, Scots, Spain and Sicily, with all of whom she was allied: also small angels. A single mutilated alabaster figure remains to bear true witness to the beautiful workmanship of Hawkin de Liege, also fragments of the coloured glass which decorated the tracery of the small canopies. The fragments of the figure were found by Scott during a restoration and put together as

they now are. The entire tomb was profusely decorated with gold and colour and with coloured paste. The design of the tomb is perhaps better understood from that of the king in the next bay, which has figures of more enduring material. The flat wooden canopy is of later date and was painted underneath. The Queen chose for her motto, *"Iche wurde muche."* (I toil much.)

The tomb of Edward III, who died in 1377, the eldest son and successor of Edward II, stands in the next bay and is of Purbeck with brass table and effigy and a richly carved Gothic canopy of wood.

The effigy, low placed and easily seen, shows a thin, dead old face, careworn and sad, said to be taken from a death mask, the beard and hair long and neglected. Every one knows the pitiful story told concerning this king's death, the truth of which seems substantiated by the appearance of his effigy. The long plain mantle has a narrow border: the sleeves are decorated with a fernlike pattern and have six tiny buttons at the wrist: the sceptres, one in each hand, indicate double dominion of France and England. The head rests on two pillows, one of which is lozenge-shaped. The lion at the feet has disappeared. The inscription on the

THE TOMB OF EDWARD III

south side read: *"Tertius Edwardus. Fama super aethera notus. 1377."*

The richly arched recumbent canopy of metal at the head of the figure is supported by pierced shafts which are enriched with canopied niches, as in the Queen's tomb to the east, each niche containing a beautiful, tiny guardian angel, having delicately wrought hands upraised in prayer. The flat wooden canopy, one of the most decorative features of the tomb has a beautiful arcade of crocketted arches set against a traceried cornice.

The sides of the tomb are wrought with a series of six arches with crockets and finials, separated by panelled buttresses: and under each arch was placed one of the twelve children of Edward and Philippa, including those famous seven sons, "the spring heads of all the troubles of the next hundred years."* Beneath each was an enamelled coat of arms. Every figure has been removed from the north side of the tomb and only the sockets remain to indicate where they stood. The six on the outer or south side, being placed above ordinary reach from the aisle, still remain, and represent the Black Prince, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Edmund, Duke of York, the Princess Mary, and young

*Stanley.

William of Hatfield. Hence the figures on this north side must have been those of John of Gaunt, Thomas of Woodstock, Margaret, Countess of Pembroke, Blanche of the Tower, Isabella and William of Windsor.

With the death of his queen, the third Edward seems to have reverted to the type of his bad father, Edward II. The memory of his brilliant conquests and many deeds of value to his country had no power to withold him from self-abasement. A learned prince, the last but one of the Plantagenet line, he forgot his ambitions. "England enjoyed by the prudence and vigor of his administration a longer period of domestic peace and tranquility than she had been blessed with in any former period, or than she experienced for many ages after.* The death of his oldest son, the Black Prince, in 1376, seven years after the death of his queen, was a sore trial. A year later, June 21, 1377, he died at his palace of Sheen, neglected and alone, robbed even of his rings by those attending him, who fled to conceal their evil deeds. Only one pitiful priest remained to care for him.

He was buried in the chapel of the Confessor, near his queen, as he desired, but

*Hume.

not by her side. In the funeral procession his body was borne with his face uncovered. The King of France* on being informed of the death of King Edward, said that he had reigned most nobly and valiantly, and that his name ought to be remembered with honour among heroes, and he caused funeral obsequies for the English king to be performed at the Saint Chapelle.

One other tomb of a king remains to the west, beyond that of Edward III, the tomb of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia. The weak, handsome irresolute son of the Black Prince and Fair Joan of Kent, who died in 1399, the last Plantagenet, built a stately tomb for himself and his cherished queen at the head of that of his grandfather, Edward III, whom he succeeded, his father, the Black Prince, having died while yet a prince. This second Richard was born at Bordeaux, and came to the throne as a child, in 1377. The people rejoiced at his coronation when the pretty, though over-indulged and petted child of eleven was carefully guided through the magnificent ceremonial in the Abbey: and again they rejoiced when he was married here to the lovely Lady Anne of Bohemia,

*Froissart.

in 1381, the bridegroom being fifteen and the bride a year younger. Early in his reign, Richard made a courageous stand when the rebels under Wat Tyler were advancing against the royal party, but in the later acts of his life exhibited the softer nature of his mother rather than the more solid virtues of his father. After many vicissitudes, Richard was forced to sign his abdication in favour of his cousin, Bolingbroke, who became Henry IV. When the day arrived, Richard was released from prison and having entered the hall which had been prepared for the occasion, royally apparelled, the sceptre in his hand and the crown on his head, he addressed the company as follows: "I have reigned King of England, Duke of Aquitaine and Lord of Ireland about twenty-two years, which royalty, lordship, sceptre and crown I now freely and willingly resign to my cousin, Henry of Lancaster, and entreat of him, in the presence of you all, to accept this sceptre." He then tendered the sceptre to the Duke, who, taking it, gave it to the Archbishop of Canterbury. King Richard next raised his crown from off his head, and placing it before him, said, "Henry, fair cousin and Duke of Lancaster, I present and give to you this crown, and all the rights de-

pendent on it." Richard was then conducted back to his prison* and the Duke took the crown with the title of Henry IV.

Richard had a lasting affection for his young queen, Anne of Bohemia, to whom he was ever generous and faithful, as he was faithful and loyal in all his friendships. The Abbey was dear to him and he constantly came here to visit the Confessor's shrine, to hear mass, and to display the beautiful building to foreign visitors. The history of the coronations and of the king's regalia attracted his interest and he asked so many questions concerning them that one of the monks, William of Sudbury, wrote a treatise on the subject for the king's benefit. In 1382 he undertook the completion of the nave, contributing to it liberally and promising a yearly gift so long as he should live, but this was only a few years, so that little was accomplished through his liberality. However, he built at his own charges the fair North Porch, of generous size (since rebuilt), on which for many years appeared his device, the white hart, collared, under a tree, the device also of his mother, Joan of Kent.

When the citizens of London rallied to his assistance in a time of distress, Richard came in procession to Westminster, and at

*Froissart.

Charing Cross he removed his shoes and walked barefooted to the Abbey, where he made his devotions. Here he once brought the King of Armenia to visit the shrine by candlelight, and the King showed him also the magnificent regalia in which he had been crowned.

After the death of his beloved Anne, when a new queen was urged upon him, he chose Isabella of Valois, daughter of Charles VI of France, a child of seven, chiefly, it was said, because years must elapse before she could become his wife and he hoped by that time that his grief for his queen would be lightened. The wedding took place at Calais in 1395, and the little Queen, as she was called, was conveyed to Windsor to be educated. The winning manners and handsome person of the King, who was but thirty at this time, gained the child's heart, and she became tenderly attached to him. On his last expedition to Ireland he spent some hours at Windsor Castle (where he gave her in charge), attended solemn mass and then took his leave of her.

In 1400, the year following his abdication, Richard died at Pontefract Castle, in Yorkshire, doubtless murdered by order of Henry IV. Fabyan says that he met his death bravely, defending himself against

a band of nine armed men who came from the King, four of whom he killed before he himself fell. His body was placed on a black draped litter, and was borne to a village "where there is a royal mansion called Langley, about thirty miles from London. There Richard was interred: God pardon his sins and have mercy upon his soul."* Years later, when Henry V came to the throne, mindful of kindness shown him by the unfortunate Richard and the fact that he had received knighthood at his hands, he ordered the body borne with all honour to Westminster Abbey, "with reverence and solemnite," and there buried by the side of his beloved queen; and that a solemn mass should be celebrated one day in each week and candles burned by his tomb perpetually.†

The king's will left jewels to the Abbey

*Froissart.

†In his prayer before the battle of Agincourt, Shakespeare makes Henry recall his father's sin:

"O, not today, O Lord,
O not today, think not upon the fault
My father made in compassing the crown!
I Richard's body have interred anew
And on it have bestowed more contrite tears
Than from it issued forced drops of blood.
Five hundred poor I have in yearly pay,
Who twice a day their withered hands hold up
Towards heaven, to pardon blood: and I have built
Two chantries, where the sad and solemn priests
Sing still, for Richard's soul: More will I do."

of St. Peter's, to the new fabric, *"per nos incepta."*

The rich high altar tomb with canopy and effigies which Richard built for himself and his Queen, is closely modelled after that of his grandfather, Edward III. As the effigies were ordered during the King's lifetime, they should be good portraits. The marble workers, coppersmiths and painters were all Englishmen whose names are preserved in the Fabric Rolls. The tomb was to be completed in 1397 and the cost was to be £10,000 of present day money, with a gratuity of £20 if the work was satisfactory.

On either side of the base of the tomb are eight canopied niches, now much worn and deprived of the statues of saints and angels which once enriched them, the King having no children. The effigies were carefully wrought, but were cast in several pieces, some of which have been stolen away. The King has a wide, full face, long thin nose, masses of hair parted in the middle, and confined by a fillet, and the small beard is worn in two points. The eyes are large and heavily lidded. The face accords with Richard's idea of his own looks. His robes are powdered with his devices, including the broom plant *(planta genista)*: the white hart: the

rising sun of his father, the Black Prince, and the initials A and R. The cushions at the head are comparatively new, the gift of Queen Victoria. The effigy of the Queen is seen with difficulty from either side of the chapel. The inner side of each recumbent canopy is powdered with devices: two crosses appear on that of the King. Their two hands, by special order of the King, were tenderly clasped, but have long since been broken off.

The monument was neglected for many years, and in the eighteenth century there was long an aperture in the side of the tomb next to the aisle, allowing mischievous boys and idle visitors to remove bones, and a Westminster scholar of 1766 describes the jawbone of the King, then in his possession. The buttresses at the sides of the tomb have been entirely torn away, leaving great holes in the table. The tabernacle work on the north side has also nearly all disappeared, having no protecting grille.

The plain, flat wooden canopy over the tomb is remarkable for the remains of a painting on its underside, so placed, according to custom, to be near the faces of the sleepers in the tomb beneath. Records show that £20 (equal to £100 today) was paid for this painting. It is best seen

from the chapel, and by afternoon light. The entire surface of the canopy is divided into four rectangular compartments: those at either end painted with angels having conspicuous golden hair, supporting shields of arms, the eagle of Bohemia and the lion of England. Of the two remaining compartments, the westmost contains a Trinity, the Father represented in aureole, seated on a low throne, one hand in benediction: in the eastmost compartment is represented The Coronation of the Virgin, and this is much the best preserved portion of the painting. The pigments were applied to a ground of some plaster composition laid on pasteboard or parchment glued to the wainscot. The surface is thickly powdered with small four-foils, stars and other devices. Tiny borders of red, gold and black enrich the verge of the canopy.

The interesting Latin inscription on the verge of the tomb, placed here by the King, in 1398, indicates his excellent opinion of himself and his Queen. He is said to be "in mind prudent as Homer; true in speech and reason, and of tall and elegant person."

Anne of Bohemia (d. 1394, aet. 27), the first queen of Richard II, was the eldest daughter of the widowed Empress of

Charles IV, who, when negotiations for her daughter's marriage to the young English King were proposed, would not consider them until she had privately sent one of her own nobles to see "what sort of a country England might be." The young daughter, who was but 15, was at length sent out on her perilous* journey to the strange land, attended by many knights and ladies, but they were forced to remain in Brussels a month, on account of some large ships, full of Normans, sent out to intercept the Bohemian princess, whose alliance with England was not pleasing to the French King. She proceeded on her way, after a time, arriving at Dover in 1381, and made a grand entry into London, where she was cordially received and at once became a favourite with the people. Her marriage to Richard took place in St. Stephen's chapel, then new, on which occasion there was "mighty feasting," and the pair lived very happily together. The Queen showed many acts of kindness and mercy to the unfortunate throughout her reign of twelve years and was called Queen Anne the Good. She is always mentioned in history as one of the early princesses who was friendly to the Reformation: and it is said† that the

*Froissart.

†Fox.

works of Wickliffe were first made known to Huss by the Bohemians who had attended the Queen to England: and that Joan, Richard's mother, herself a friend of Wickliffe, used the queen's influence with her son to save Wickliffe's life in 1382.

The palace of Eltham, and the summer palace of Sheen were the favourite residences of the King and Queen. At the grand tournament to celebrate the King's coming of age, Anne presided and distributed the prizes, while sixty of her ladies, mounted on white horses, led each a knight by a silver chain to the tilting ground. The Queen gave a splendid banquet afterwards at the Bishop of London's palace, "with dancing both before and after supper." The Queen's robes were very sumptuous, though she came to England without dowry: and her crown and robes blazed with the choicest gems that the King could command.

The life of the royal pair was extravagantly costly. The King entertained every day at least six hundred persons and endeavoured to outdo all the princes of Christendom in his jewels, and his gay court. Three hundred people were employed in his kitchens alone, and the

young Queen "had a like number to attend upon her."

The beloved Queen, still young, died suddenly, after a brief illness, at her summer palace of Sheen, the King, who had always been faithful to her, standing by her side in an agony of grief. She probably died of pestilence which was then raging, as she was ill but a few hours. "The King and all who loved her* were greatly affected at her death. King Richard was inconsolable for his loss, as they mutually loved each other, and long afterward, even when in council, if she was recalled to mind, he would burst into tears, rise and suddenly leave the room." He ordered the palace in which she died razed to the ground: and though this was not wholly accomplished, her apartments were dismantled. Froissart tells us that the funeral obsequies were performed at the King's leisure, for he would have them magnificently done, and did not take place until two months after her death. Great store of wax was sent for from Flanders for candles and the body was borne in a stately procession of lords and ladies.

Her effigy lies beside that of the King, and their hands, by his direction, were joined together, but have long since been

*Froissart.

broken away. The face of her effigy resembles that of her husband, with the same heavy lidded eyes, long nose, broad mouth, and seems less like a portrait than a conventional representation. Her robe is richly ornamented with crowns, initials, the letters A and R, the ostrich feathers of Bohemia, and the curious border of the open pods of the broom plant as seen on the King's robe. The inscription, prepared by the king, mentions her charities, her care of poor widows and mothers, her love of peace and her sweet countenance.

Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester (d. 1397), the youngest son of Edward III, lies buried close by the tomb of his mother, Philippa, but the fine brass which marked the spot has been taken away and now only a plain stone remains. He was created Duke of Gloucester by Richard II, whose youngest uncle he was, and also, with little doubt, he was at last foully murdered by that same nephew, whom he had censured somewhat too freely, on suspicion of conspiracy. Fierce and rapacious by nature, but of fine literory tastes, an author of some ability (he wrote a History of the Laws of Battle), he was one of the poet Gower's chief patrons

and the poet lived in his household.

"My brother Gloucester, plain, well-meaning soul,
Whom fair befall in heaven 'mongst happy souls,"

Shakespeare makes his older brother, John of Gaunt, to say of him. The Duke was arrested by Richard's own hand at Pleshy Castle, and hurried across the channel to Calais, where he was killed by two paid ruffians of the King, who afterwards confessed the deed. The Duke was first buried in St. Edmund's chapel, where his duchess, Eleanor de Bohun, now rests: but was removed to this chapel by his nephew, Henry IV, and placed near his father and mother.

Princess Margaret of York (d. 1472, at the age of eight months), the infant daughter of Edward IV, has a small, high altar tomb of grey marble west of Edward III's, probably brought here from the Early English Lady chapel on the rebuilding of Henry VII. "My Lady Margaret died young," says a contemporary chronicler. The tomb once had brass borders and probably an effigy in brass and there was a stately inscription in Latin on a brass plate on the top bearing the words (translated), "Nobility and beauty, grace and tender youth are all hidden here in this chest of death. That thou

mayst know the race, name, age, sex, and time of death, the margin of the tomb will manifest all to thee."

The tomb of John of Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury in Richard II's time (d. 1395), is at the west end of this chapel, where the indent of a once beautiful brass shows the Bishop fully vested, with staff and a richly bordered chasuble. Wrought in the border and also in the crook of his episcopal staff is an image of the Virgin and Child. This is the only burial within this chapel not of the royal blood. King Richard was deeply attached to the Bishop, whom he had made Keeper of the Privy Seal, Master of the Rolls, and Lord Treasurer, greatly mourned his death, and commanded that he should be buried among the kings, "though many muttered thereat, envying him this honour."* The King presented the Abbey a gift of money and two handsome copes in return for the favour of this burial within the chapel of the kings.

*Walsingham.

CHAPTER XV

CHAPELS OF THE SOUTH AMBULATORY

(Early English, 1245-1269)

MANY saints were held in honour at the monastery of St. Peters, Westminster: many prayers were daily offered here in their name: and for this important part of the mediæval churchman's devotions Henry III made liberal provision in his new building by surrounding the ambulatory with large chapels which radiated from the aisle like the sticks of a fan. The Lady chapel of the king's earlier rearing already occupied the principal place at the east, where Henry VII's chapel now stands: in addition to this, he now built two chapels on the north and two on the south side of the ambulatory, thus forming a group of five apsidal chapels. Another pair of chapels he built to project eastward from the east aisle of each transept, square in shape, and, as may be seen from the plan and from the exterior of the building, fitting snugly into the angle between the westmost of the radiat-

ing chapels and the east aisle of each transept. These transeptal chapels, though structurally a part of the transept and not of the ambulatory, and accessible, formerly, from transept-aisle and ambulatory, are now most conveniently visited from the latter.

Hence a group of seven chapels are here included, to be studied in order: the first, beginning at the south, being St. Benedict's, a square chapel of the south transept: then St. Edmund's and St. Nicholas', belonging properly to the ambulatory, from which they radiate, and shaped like the six sides of an octagon: Henry VII's splendid chapel at the east: then coming to the north ambulatory, St. Paul's and St. John the Baptist's, both radiating chapels of the north aisle, corresponding in all respects to those of St. Edmund and St. Nicholas on the south: and lastly, to the west, Islip's chapel, rebuilt in two stories, the transeptal, square chapel of the north transept, corresponding to St. Benedict's on the south, but its access from the transept's east aisle now built up.

The East Aisle of the North transept is now studied from this ambulatory, access from the transept being obstructed by monuments.

Each of these seven chapels was pro-

vided with an altar at the east, and was dedicated to the saint who gave name to the chapel: each altar slab was marked, as is that of Henry V's chantry today, with five incised crosses, one in each angle and one in the centre, in memory of the five wounds of Christ. Some of the altar stones had little insets containing relics, sealed up but not forgotten. In each chapel was a stone bench running round the sides of the room, for the use of worshippers: in each, aumbry and piscina were provided for the altar; chalice, paten and vestments for the priest; and many were enriched by beautiful ornaments. In some, as in St. Benedict's, there was a choice pavement for the altar place. Each of the four greater chapels, St. Edmund's, St. Nicholas', St. Paul's and St. John the Baptist's is formed on the plan of six sides of an octagon.

Each of the seven chapels now has nearly every portion of its walls thickly crowded with tablets and monuments, and in none is any trace whatsoever, except in fragments of altars or piscinas, and stone benches, of its original use. In the great cathedrals of the Continent where such chapels are still devoted to their original purpose, one sees today the enriched altars, with candles, images and incense: white

robed priests singing masses, or a little throng of worshippers gathered in or near the chapel in silent prayer: or, perhaps, a single figure of a tired working woman with a basket on her arm, pausing at the day's beginning to offer her little gift of a small candle and a prayer in the belief that the saint whose aid she invokes will care for her so long as the candle burns: or perhaps it is the lonely figure of a mourner in sable robes, bowed in sorrow before the altar of some friendly saint whose sufferings she pities and so finds relief for her own. The sweet stillness of the little chapel gratifies all devout hearts, and to a Christian of whatever creed, such use of a chapel, once consecrated to worship, appeals far more forcefully than its use for a collection of tombs and monuments to the more or less worthy, daily exhibited to the curious by an attendant.

The Chapel of St. Benedict, the first chapel on the south after one enters the south ambulatory, is sometimes called the Deans' Chapel because here rest three deans of Westminster, including the first dean of Elizabeth's new foundation of the Abbey as a collegiate church. As has been said, it is not structurally one of the radiating chapels of the ambulatory, but is an apsidal chapel project-

ing from the east aisle of the south transept, which is conveniently studied from this aisle. It is nearly square, has a large window on the south and one on the east, and opens freely, except for the obstruction formed by monuments, into the Poets' Corner and into the ambulatory. It lies parallel to the north wall of the chapter house, from which it is separated only by a very narrow space which forms a passage by which the south transept may be entered from the street.

The chapel is dedicated to St. Benedict, the founder of the Benedictines, the first and most famous of all the monastic orders, and that to which St. Peter's, Westminster, belonged. St. Benedict was a pious Italian, who at 15 became a hermit of the most austere sort, and being entreated by other hermits, permitted himself to become their head. From this small beginning, as early as 529, the institutions of monastic life spread over all Europe, and the Benedictines became a great and powerful organization. The name of St. Benedict was held in high esteem in England and particularly at Westminster—an early foundation of the order; and one of the monastery's most precious relics was the head of this saint

set in a choice reliquary of gold, enriched with gems, preserved at first in the Confessor's chapel and perhaps later brought to this small altar dedicated to his name. The head was presented by Edward III, who bought it of the Abbey of Fleury, where the saint's bones had been deposited, coming into France from Monte Cassino.

The chapel is not open to the public, but the little which it contains to attract general interest may very readily be viewed over the low screen, either from the aisle or from the transept. A lofty two-light window filled with plain glass is in the south wall, but the only time when St. Benedict's dark corners can well be seen is the late afternoon, when the sun is low and sends its revealing rays through the west windows of the south transept aisle opposite. Then all the dark nooks are illuminated, and not even a spider can escape.

The old altar steps remain at the east end, having escaped the "leveling process of the Parliamentarian soldiers," but are occupied by a huge monument. The interesting heraldic tiles of early date in the altar pavement are not readily seen in the usual dim light. A beautiful section of the trefoiled arcade, which runs

under the windows throughout the church, is seen on the south wall, its carved spandril work in excellent preservation. A door of access to the triforium stairs is in the westmost arch of the south wall. Dryden's bust stands on a high pedestal in

A CAPITAL

the west arch of this chapel: and Longfellow's, on a lower pedestal, is just beyond. One of the greatest benefactors that the Abbey ever had (after the two royal founders) has his tomb under the north arch of this chapel, between the chapel and the aisle, Cardinal Simon Langham, first monk, then prior, abbot, bishop, archbishop and cardinal, who died at Avignon in 1376. Concerning his building in cloister and church, and the fruits of his splendid legacy to the monastery, we have studied in the chapter on the completion of the nave building, and shall see farther results in studying the cloister and

precincts. The legacy was equal to $750,000 of our money, and in addition to this the Cardinal bequeathed to the monastery his books, which filled seven large chests, a precious gift in those early days before printing was in use. The body was brought here from Avignon and honourably buried in St. Benedict's and the monks erected this altar tomb with effigy and canopy to the memory of their former companion and Abbot.

The tomb and effigy are of alabaster: the upper and lower slabs of Purbeck marble, the latter bearing remains of an inscription in brass letters. The effigy is rather coarsely wrought, is seven feet long and represents the Abbot in his robes of office, with dalmatic having a double row of fringe: rich chasuble, high mitre, beautiful veiled staff having tabernacle work at the head, and gloves retaining a single blue jewel. Two rings are worn on the second and third fingers, above the middle joint. The head rests on a double pillow and is supported by adoring angels with very stiff wings: the hands are in prayer: the feet rest on two collared dogs. The shields of arms which decorate the sides of the tomb are an early instance of such decoration which later came into general use. The shields are set in traceried

panels and bear the arms of Edward the Confessor, the cross and four martlets: the three ducal coronets of the see of Ely, over which the cardinal presided for a time: and the pall of Canterbury, of which he was Archbishop. The tomb was originally provided with a wooden canopy, which was broken away at the coronation of George I. The iron railing on the ambulatory side is an early and interesting example of English workmanship.

Dean William Bill (d. 1561), the first dean of Westminster on Queen Elizabeth's new foundation, has a low Purbeck marble altar tomb within this chapel, at the northwest angle, with a brass plate bearing his effigies. The Latin inscription testifies to his goodness and worth, and to the loss which the three colleges over which he presided, Eton, Trinity and St. John's, sustained by his death.

Under the middle arch of the wall arcade on the south, which is recessed, is a kneeling freestone effigy in full robes, once lavishly painted, to Dean Gabriel Goodman, a Welshman (d. 1601), the fifth Dean of Westminster. It is said that he presided here "with much applause for forty years," and Stanley attributes to him the real foundation of the present establishment. The effigy kneels on a

cushion before a prayer desk and on the pedestal of the tomb is a long Latin inscription.

The place of the altar itself is now occupied by a very large monument of bronze and marble, with alabaster effigy, to Lady Frances Howard, Countess of Hertford (d. 1598), whose brother, the famous Admiral Howard, repulsed the Spanish Armada. The Countess had been second wife unto the noble Edward, Earl of Hertford, and "dearly loved by her lord," who erected this sumptuous monument to her memory "in testification of his greate love toward her and of his careful diligence in this doleful duty." The tomb is about twenty-eight feet high and among its numerous decorations are five large obelisks.

A rich altar tomb in the midst of this chapel to Lionel, the first Earl of Middlesex (d. 1645), was erected by his second wife, Lady Ann (d. 1647), who records his first marriage and issue. The white marble tomb is as rich as could be obtained, having black marble panels at the sides containing an inscription: and on a rich black marble slab, five inches thick, rest the lifesize effigies of the Earl and of his Countess, dressed with all possible elegance, including ermine collar, ruff and coronet, and doubtless since it was made

in the lady's lifetime she often came to admire it.

St. Edmund's Chapel is the westmost of the group of radiating chapels surrounding the ambulatory, and is in the shape of six sides of an octagon, the two northern sides being open to the aisle and suppositious. It was long considered second in sanctity only to the Confessor's chapel, and was reserved for burials of relatives of the royal family. It was dedicated to St. Edmund, king of East Anglia, murdered by the Danes in 886, and here were treasured some of his relics. The important monastery of Bury St. Edmunds was built over his remains. The chapel was once provided with altar and priests for daily service, but is now crowded with incongruous monuments, among which one chooses his way with some difficulty, while the beautiful carved arcade of the walls is nearly obscured by a variety of memorial tablets.

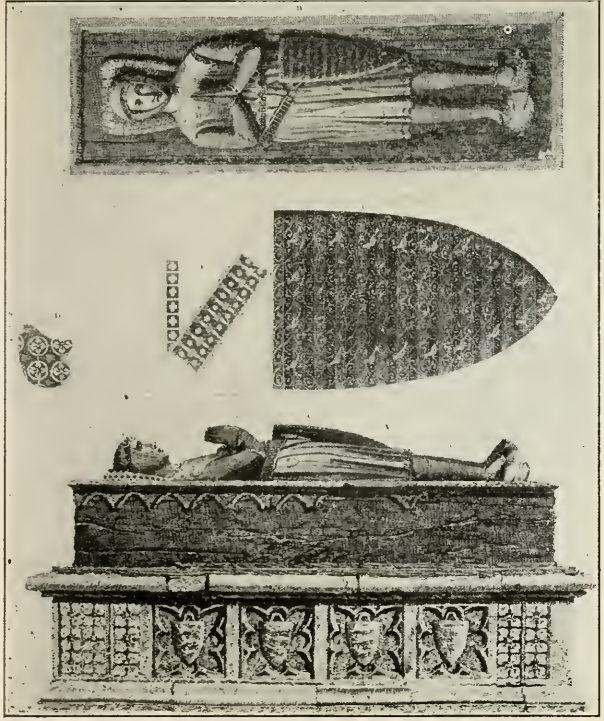
The altar stood at the east, under the second arch from the north, where still may be seen some faint traces of painting, perhaps of the reredos. The chapel is lighted by three lofty, two-light windows and is separated from the aisle only by a low screen. Portions of the rich spandril carvings of the wall arcade remain on the

east wall. The central figure is most delicately wrought, having a strong, youthful face, drapery gracefully disposed over the left shoulder, the arms extended, bearing in her hands a crown and foliage. There is a quaint little figure on the north side. The corbel head is well carved and

A SPANDRIL CARVING

represents the face of an older man with long, curling beard, perhaps Edward the Confessor. The low stone bench remains on two sides of the chapel. There is a beautiful foliage boss.

The tomb of Henry III's "turbulent half brother," William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke (d. 1296), erected by his youngest son, Aymer, stands to the west of the entrance to the chapel. The Earl was the son of Henry III's mother, Isabella of France, by her second marriage to a French nobleman, Hugh of Lusignan,



TOMB OF WILLIAM DE VALENCE WITH DETAIL OF SHIELD AND SWORD BELT

From an engraving by Neale.

THE DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK, MOTHER OF LADY JANE GREY

(From Vertue's engraving of a painting by Lucas de Heere; formerly owned by Horace Walpole).

Count de la Marche, and brother to Aymer or Ethelmar of Valence, who became bishop of Winchester through his half brother's favour.

The tomb consists of three parts, a stone base or chest containing the body: an oak chest, and an effigy of oak covered with beautiful Limoges enamel. It is wholly French in design and probably in workmanship, and one of the most interesting and unusual tombs in the entire Abbey, though stripped of much of its enamel and other ornament. The stone chest or altar tomb, probably of English workmanship, is ornamented with traceried panels containing shields of arms, among which are the arms of Valence on the Rhine (the Earl's birthplace): a barry of ten and an orle of martlets, which, after the usage of the heralds of France and as seen on the early arms of the Confessor, are represented without feet to indicate swiftness of wing. The ten bars have delicate carved scrolls of gold and blue, the blue bars and the martlets being outlined with gold threads. In the shields at the angles there is rich diaper work of conventional foliage.

The oak chest bearing the effigy is much worn away and only a few fragments remain of the delicate carved arcade which

surrounded it, and the thirty-three small figures of mourners under the arches. Portions of a beautiful wrought metal border are seen on the ledge, and some fragments of the enamel with which the wooden chest was decorated are on the slab between the feet. The effigy itself is one of the few made of wood to be found in England: those of Robert of Normandy at Gloucester and of Archbishop Peckham at Canterbury being other notable examples. It was originally covered over with thin plates of copper, engraved, representing the chain armour of the period, the belt, shield and pillow being wrought with French enamel. The large eyes of the figure are open, and the mouth, open also, as if smiling or speaking. The nose is long and broad, the hands gloved and in the attitude of prayer. On the head is a close helmet or coif of copper engraved to imitate chain armour, and having a narrow fillet of delicate pattern, once jewelled, but all the stones have been picked out. The long surcoat was once *semèe* with small shields bearing the arms of Valence, only three of which remain; it spreads over the armour and below the knees, opening in front to disclose a small portion of the hauberk. Both the narrow belt of the surcoat and the broad, massive

sword belt are enamelled with quatrefoils and other designs in blue and gold. The feet are encased in chain mail and rest on a lion: one spur remains to the gallant knight: a broken plate of copper remaining on the lion shows the style of the original decoration of copper plates.

The enamelled shield is one of the most beautiful and best preserved portions of the monument, and is now readily seen by its reflection in a mirror which has been conveniently placed for this purpose over the tomb. It is of the large heater shape in early use, enamelled with the arms of Valence, twenty-eight cross bars, alternately blue and silver, the blue cunningly diapered with gold; the silver with black, and the martlets placed between the bars. The pillow is enamelled in blue, green, red, and white, having tiny shields enclosing small four-petaled flowers alternately with the arms of Valence and of England. Some small shields also remain on the north side of the slab on which the effigy rests.

The Earl was the third of the five sons of Queen Isabella and the Count de la Marche, and was born at the Count's great citadel of Valence on the Rhine. The Queen's tomb is at Fontevraud, where her son by her first marriage, Henry III,

erected a beautiful enamelled statue to her memory. After her death, the count sent his sons over to the court of their English half brother, who treated them with great liberality: but they proved ungrateful and caused him countless anxieties. This Earl fought in the Welsh and French wars and was killed at the battle of Bayonne.

A lofty Jacobean tomb of marble on the west wall of this chapel is to the memory of Edward Talbot, the eighth Earl of Shrewsbury (d. 1617), and his Countess, the Lady Jane, daughter of Baron Ogle. The high round-arched canopy is supported on rich marble columns and is surmounted by a shield of arms with supporters. Recumbent effigies of the two rest on a black marble slab, their hands upraised in prayer, the Earl lying highest as of superior rank: a round-cheeked little girl kneels at her mother's feet.

Sir Richard Pecksall (d. 1571), Master of the Buckhounds to Queen Elizabeth, has an Elizabethan monument on the west wall, with his two wives, both named Eleanor, and four small daughters.

Sir Humphrey Bourchier, a staunch follower of Edward IV, killed at the battle of Barnet, in 1471, has a low altar tomb to the south, having traceried sides and the remains of a handsome brass effigy. His

death is described in "The Last of the Barons," the author of which lies buried near by: "Down fell Sir Humphrey Bourchier, who had just arrived with messages from Edward, never uttered in the world below."

Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, the novelist, lies buried in this chapel under a blue marble slab in the pavement, with the inscription, "Laborious and distinguished in all fields of intellectual activity, indefatigable and ardent in the cultivation and the love of letters, his genius as an author was displayed in the most varied forms which have connected him indissolubly with every department of the literature of his time."

The novelist died at Torquay, January, 1873, a few days after revising the proof sheets of his last novel, "Kenelm Chillingly." He had desired a private burial in his family vault at Knebworth but the public demanded that he should be fittingly honoured by a funeral and burial in the Abbey. A heavy fog settled over London on the day of the burial, nearly obscuring all the outlines of the Abbey, and giving a solemn, muffled sound to the great bell in the tower as if from another world. "The high arcades of the Abbey were dim with vapor, the gas had to be lit in the choir; and in the south transept lamps were

set upon Plantagenet tombs, and candles fixed against the wall. The pavement was laid with a broad strip of black cloth, beginning at the west cloister door and continuing along the nave, choir and south transept. The floor and raised tombs of St. Edmund's chapel were altogether carpeted in black, the open grave, seven feet deep, being also lined with black. . . . the Abbey choir, placed in the Confessor's chapel, singing their anthems by the tomb of Henry V and laying the music books on the figure of Edward III. The coffin, borne by labourers from the Knebworth estate, was draped with a pall of black velvet bordered with white, and on it rested a beautiful wreath of camelias, the two red velvet cushions bearing the coronet, and the Star and Collar of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. Lord Lytton's son, Owen Meredith, was the chief mourner. Dean Stanley conducted the service and while the coffin with its flowers was lowered the great bell sounded its solemn note and the Dean read the sentence, Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, etc. As the mourners left the little chapel the noble music of the Dead March from 'Saul' filled the dark Abbey aisles, and when it ended the solemnity was complete, and with due observance the great author

had been laid in an honoured grave."*

Dr. Henry Ferne (d. 1662), chaplain to Charles I, whose favour he won by a single sermon, rests under a marble slab near Bulwer. He was with Charles during his imprisonment at Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight, and preached the last sermon that the King heard here before going up to London for his trial. At the Restoration, Charles II rewarded him for his loyalty by appointing him Bishop of Chester, an honour which he enjoyed but a brief time, for he died within a month.

Lord John Russell (d. 1584) has a large Elizabethan tomb on the southeast, with alabaster effigy; and reclining at his feet is the tiny figure of Francis, an infant son with round cheeks and dimpled hands, who died the same year with his father. The shields of arms in the arch above the effigy are curiously supported by women in the costume of the period: angels bearing wreaths decorate the spandrils of the arch. The tomb was erected and the inscriptions written in Greek, Latin and English by Lady Russell, one of the "learned daughters" of Sir Anthony Cooke.

*Cooper's Life.

The Maid of Honour monument, as it is usually called, close by Lord Russell's tomb, is in memory of his fair young daughter, Elizabeth Russell (d. 1601), pleasantly called "Bess Russell" in the chronicles of the day. The child was born in the Abbey precincts, where her mother had taken refuge during the plague of 1575, and she and her sister, Anne, were early appointed maids of honour to Queen Elizabeth and lived a gay and happy life at the brilliant Court. A few weeks after the wedding festivities of her sister, Anne, in which the Lady Bess had borne a prominent part, she sickened and died, being only sixteen years of age. This monument, erected by the loving sister, represents a young girl seated in a wicker chair, which rests on a high marble pedestal, simulating a Roman altar. One foot is against a skull, one of the emblems of her family. Her eyes are closed as if in sweet slumber.

Lady Jane Seymour (d. 1560), the Protector Somerset's young daughter of nineteen, has a mural tablet on the east wall, put there by "her deare brother." Her name would naturally be cherished by this brother, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertfort, for through her good offices he was able to meet and privately marry her

intimate friend, the beautiful Lady Catherine, younger sister of Lady Jane Grey, whose romantic history is linked with many lives of note. The young sister arranged the lovers' meetings and bribed a clergyman to marry them, early one morning when the Queen and court were off hunting. The early death of this young sister was a source of great sorrow to the youthful pair. The Protector had intended her to be the wife of Edward VI.

Lady Katherine Knollys (d. 1569), cousin to Queen Elizabeth, being daughter of Mary Boleyn and niece of Queen Anne Boleyn, whom she attended in her last days in the Tower and accompanied to the scaffold, has a black mural tablet with canopy on the east wall. In consequence of her devotion to her unfortunate aunt, Queen Elizabeth held her in high esteem and she was much at the Court of the Maiden Queen. She had married Sir Francis Knollys, the Treasurer of Elizabeth's household. The bull's head of the Bullen arms appears on the tablet.

The mother of Lady Jane Grey, Frances, Duchess of Suffolk (d. 1599), of the royal blood, being the granddaughter of Henry VII, has a noble tomb in the midst of this chapel. She was the daughter of Henry VII's daughter, Mary Tudor,

widow of the French king, later married to Charles Brandon (who became Duke of Suffolk), and had for her godmother Catherine of Aragon, with the little Princess Mary, who became Queen. The Lady Frances was at one time considered very close to the throne, as she had been named in the King's will as next heir. Though she is often spoken of as having lived in great distress after the execution of her husband, history shows that she was held in favour at the court of Queen Mary, her early friend, who frequently entertained her and her surviving daughters. She was a handsome figure in the early days of her marriage and "added much splendour to the pageants" in the time of Edward VI.

She is usually spoken of as a harsh and severe mother to the Lady Jane, a statement based entirely upon a remark of the little daughter to her tutor, Roger Ascham: "When I am in the presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand or go, eat, drink, be merry or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing or doing anything else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure and number, even so perfectly as God made the world," and refers to corrective punishments such as parents ordinarily administered to their children of six and seven

years. But since she prefaces her statement with "One of the greatest benefits that God ever gave me is that he sent me so sharp and severe parents and so gentle a schoolmaster," her childish criticism cannot be taken as a serious reflection on her mother. There is little in the mother's life to indicate generous feeling for her unfortunate daughter. If she urged on the daughter's claims to the crown, not daring to put forth her own, it must be attributed to ambition. And when husband and daughter were in the Tower, in peril of their lives, she threw herself at Queen Mary's feet and piteously and successfully (for the time) begged for her husband's release; but there is no record of similar intercession for the young daughter of tender years. And within a very few months after the terrible execution of husband and daughter, we find the handsome Lady Frances, true niece of Henry VIII, in close attendance on Queen Mary, "an active courtier," freely asking and receiving favours.

Not long after the execution of the Duke, she married Adrian Stokes, her Master of the Horse, "which, however much it might tend to her discredit, yet seemed to answer the view with which it was done by contributing to her security."

No doubt the years of quiet life in a less exalted station assisted her to forget the anxieties of her splendid royal connection. The funeral of the Duchess was attended with much pomp, with arms and banners, and heralds of arms, Master Garter and Master Clarencieux and a long train of mourners. The Herald's account is preserved in the College of Arms. Her portrait, with that of Adrian Stokes, was engraved by Vertue and bears out the testimony to her beauty.

The high tomb of alabaster, with alabaster effigy, was worthy of so high-born a lady and was provided for her by the munificence of the second husband. It has been wantonly mutilated and at one time the prejudice against the lady's name was so great that the tomb was with difficulty preserved from destruction. It rests on two stone steps: the sides are panelled and decorated with arms crowned by a coronet. The effigy reclines on a plaited mattress rolled at the head to form a pillow and there is a rich embroidered cushion. The face is small and delicate, but badly marred by scratched initials. She wears a long ermined robe, stiff high bodice, ruff and close collar. The close sleeves are wrought in a square pattern: the delicate hands, with jewelled ring on the

third finger of the right, are clasped over a book: there is a chain with pendant at the throat. The sturdy feet rest on a crowned lion. The coronet once on her head is missing.

From the tomb of this duchess notice the fine views of the sanctuary triforium and the clerestory of the Confessor's chapel and shrine: also of the south wall of Henry V's chantry above the aisle.

Two infant children of Edward III, Blanche of the Tower and William of Windsor, have a small marble altar tomb with tiny alabaster effigies about twenty inches long, near the east end of the chapel. The Princess Blanche died in 1340, and her little effigy appears as a long, slender, graceful figure wearing over her *cote hardie* a long mantle with rich rose clasp and two quatrefoil studs: a netted headdress, each knot of which is decorated with a group of four pearls: her left hand lies on her jewelled stomacher: a lion is at her feet. The little Prince William lived to be twelve years old. His small effigy is dressed in short doublet and mantle: his belt is decorated with roses, his flowing hair encircled by a fillet, and the hands are clasped. The lower part of the effigy has been chipped off obliquely, also a large part of the slab at the base

of the figure. All the surface of this delicate little tomb is now marred by scratched initials. The effigies were made for the King by a stonemason named John Orchard, for twenty shillings.

A quaint tablet in the northeast angle is in memory of the last Earl of Stafford, John Paul Howard (d. 1762), the inscription recording the fact that the Stafford family descended by ten different marriages, from the royal blood of England and of France. Surrounding the inscription is a border curiously composed of roundels containing badges of honour, including strawberry leaves and fruit, a lion, a greyhound, a falcon, a fish, the full sun, etc., each roundel connected to the next by a Stafford knot, and all wrought in brown stain applied to the marble.

A pyramid tomb set between two funeral urns against the east wall, takes us again to the days of Charles II and the Restoration. It bears the name of Nicholas Monk (d. 1661), brother of the famous general to whom the second Charles probably owed his crown, and as an inscription states, "the most endeared brother to the most noble General Monk . . . the chief and the most successful assistant with him in that glorious Restoration of Charles II." He is said to have

suggested the plan for restoring the King to his throne.

Of the three low, wide altar tombs in the midst of the chapel, two have the richest brasses in the Abbey. The most elaborate of these commemorates Eleanor de Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester (d. 1399), the greatest heiress in England at that time. After the treacherous murder of her husband, Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, the youngest son of Edward III, at the instigation of Richard II, it is recorded that Eleanor spent the remainder of her life in sorrowful widowhood at the nunnery of Barking. The brass has a fine cumbent triple canopy with rich tabernacle work and in each arch of the canopy are represented the Duchess' emblems, the central one being the swan of the Bohuns. Shields of arms also appear on the rich, lofty buttresses which support the canopy. The effigy is in widow's garb with long robes and veil, the incised face crudely rendered: the hands are upraised in prayer: the head rests on two embroidered and tasselled cushions. Flowers are upspringing at her feet: a rich border at the base contains ferns gracefully alternating with the swans of the Bohuns. An inscription runs around the ledge of the tomb.

The second brass is that of Robert de Waldeby, Archbishop of York (d. 1397), who had been an esteemed friend of the Black Prince and tutor to his son, Richard II. The brass has a beautiful cumbent canopy of a single arch, supported by buttresses, under which appears a figure of the Archbishop fully robed for mass, with high mitre, staff with cross: the pall with six crosses (in imitation of the crossed pins by which the early palls were fastened to the robe) and crosses on the episcopal shoes. The gloves are richly jewelled, the right hand is in benediction.

The third low tomb in the midst of the chapel is an altar tomb of white veined marble having no ornament but inscribed to Mary, Countess of Stafford (d. 1694), wife of Viscount Stafford, who was beheaded for alleged complicity in the popish plot, on Tower Hill, in 1680: a lineal descendant of Eleanor Bohun, by whose side she rests. The title was granted her in her own right after the death of her husband.

A rich Gothic altar tomb east of and close by the little door of the chapel, corresponding in location to that of William de Valence, is in memory of Edward II's second son, Prince John of Eltham (d. 1337), a young man of nineteen. He was

born at Eltham palace in Kent and the King was so rejoiced at the event that he presented £100 to the messenger who brought him the news. The Prince early exhibited conspicuous abilities and was much relied on by his older brother, Edward III. On three different occasions when the latter was absent from England he appointed Prince John, then a very young man, to be his regent: and though the Prince was but nineteen at the time of his death, he had the entire command of the army in Scotland. He died at Berwick-on-Tweed, while on an expedition to Scotland with the King. It was ordered that he should be entombed royally, and his body was conveyed all the long distance to London with much pomp and interred with such magnificence that the Prior and convent received £100 in place of the horses and armour usually offered at such a funeral.

The beautiful and costly monument erected by Edward III for this young brother, in its original beauty was worthy of a king's son. It consists of a stone plinth and base, bearing shields of arms set in small panels, on which rests the wooden chest containing the body. Above it is a slab of Purbeck and another of alabaster, on which is the alabaster effigy,

now cruelly marred by scratched initials. A triple canopy, similar to those in the Confessor's chapel once crowned the structure but was so badly damaged in 1776, at the funeral of the Duchess of Northumberland, that it had to be removed.

The effigy is interesting for its artistic beauty and also as showing with accuracy the military costume of the period. The face is rather coarsely carved, the eyes and mouth open. The head rests on two alabaster cushions, the upper one supported by two adoring angels, beautifully carved. The feet rest on a lion: the legs are crossed below the knees. The coronet is interesting as being, it is said, the earliest example known in which the ducal strawberry leaves were used. From the coronet depends a mantling with tassels, once coloured red. The long sword has a well-wrought scabbard and a jewelled belt. The large heater shield, best seen from the aisle, bears the arms of England and has a rich border of *fleur-de-lis*. The cyclas is cut shorter in front than at the back: beneath it is the gaubeson, and a coat of mail. The gauntlets are jointed: the prick spurs are buckled to the feet: there are genouilles to protect the knees. So sleeps the young prince.

Second only to the effigy in interest is the beautiful alabaster arcade surrounding the wooden chest, under each of whose arches stands an alabaster image of some royal relative of the young prince. The attitudes and costumes are varied and graceful: many of the figures are crowned and originally there were six kings and four queens. Those on the ambulatory side are in the best state of preservation. All are wrought of the choicest alabaster and were evidently the work of an artist. The English relatives of the prince seem to have been placed on the north side of the tomb: his French relatives on the south. Among the former appear his father, Edward II, and his mother, Isabella of France, one of the few representations known to remain in England of this unscrupulous queen. She appears in widow's garb, but wearing a crown above her hood and holding a sceptre in her right hand. The statue of Edward II is a miniature of that on the king's tomb in Gloucester cathedral: the hands are unusually long and slender: the attitudes of both king and queen are those somewhat insistent poses which were usually employed in representing royalty in the Gothic period.

St. Nicholas Chapel, the eastmost of

the radiating chapels in the south aisle, contains the monuments of so many ladies of title, including three duchesses and four countesses, that it might well be called the Chapel of Noble Ladies. Otherwise no persons of great distinction or overtopping merit sleep here and the architectural features of the chapel repeat those of St. Edmund's both in design and in being much mutilated by the placing of monuments.

The monastery possessed several relics of St. Nicholas, the young bishop of Myra, patron saint of children: a finger and other parts of a hand, presented by Queen Eleanor: also oil from the saint's tomb and a tooth and finger-joint given by the Prior of Winchester. These relics were reverently kept by the altar of this chapel. Whoever attended mass at this altar was granted indulgence for three years and sixty days. The altar place at the east end is now occupied by tombs and near by is a large double aumbry, now blocked up, but portions of its hinges remain to identify its original use.

The plan, like that of the other radiating chapels of the ambulatory, includes six of the eight sides of an octagon. It has four lofty, two-light traceried windows: the original wall arcade beneath is entirely

obscured by large monuments, chiefly Elizabethan or Jacobean. A low Perpendicular stone screen of open panelling, with cornice and a mutilated battlement, separates the chapel from the aisle, the cornice set with very small shields.

A noble Gothic monument on the right of the entrance is to Philippa, Duchess of York (d. 1431), wife of Edward III's grandson, Edmund Langley, Duke of York, who was killed on the field of Agincourt. The lady had previously been married to Sir John Golofre, and after the death of the Duke she became the wife of Lord Walter Fitzwalter: but it was doubtless on account of her second marriage that she was granted burial in this chapel. Her tomb was for fifty years the only one here and at that time stood in the centre of the chapel. After the death of the Duke of York she was granted the lordship of the Isle of Wight, succeeding her husband, and resided at Carisbrook Castle.

The wide, high altar tomb of the Duchess, with alabaster effigy, once had a beautiful oak canopy (similar to that of Richard II across the aisle), the underside of which was painted blue and studded with golden stars; and in the midst a representation of The Trinity with the Crucifixion.

The supporting columns of this canopy were detached from the tomb and were broken down by over-curious spectators at a funeral in the next chapel. The alabaster effigy is represented in long, flowing robes with wimple and crimped veil: the head rests on a double pillow and despite the corrugated folds of the drapery in this early figure it bears a certain feeling of dignity and repose. The stone base of the tomb is decorated with tracerried panels containing shields of arms, all once coloured and gilt. The pillow has a sixteenth century arabesque and is probably restored.

The Percy Vault in this chapel is the only private vault in the Abbey now used for interments. There are two Percy monuments.

Elizabeth Percy, the first Duchess of Northumberland (d. 1776), has a tomb built by the famous Robert Adam, whose name is well known to collectors of furniture, and contains a relief of the Duchess bestowing bread and alms on the poor, while the sick and unfortunate are kneeling around her. Her motto, *Esperance en Dieu,* appears above.

Winifred, Lady Brydges, Marchioness of Winchester, who died in 1586, has a small monument of various coloured mar-

bles on the north side of the chapel, with effigies of herself and children. In front of the monument the figures on the three small pedestals are her son and daughters, and a little chrism child lies by her mother's feet on a tiny sarcophagus, with ruff, robes, richly tasselled pillow and her tiny hands clasped in prayer.

The most artistic monument in the chapel is that to William Dudley, also called Sutton (d. 1483), a bishop of Durham, son of the eighth Baron Dudley, and once Dean of Windsor. The stone altar tomb under the south window has panelled sides, a rich triple-arched canopy and an open arcade crowned by a cornice with cresting. The broad Purbeck slab once bore a brass figure of the bishop.

The splendid Villiers monument in the midst of the chapel is to the father and mother of the famous Duke of Buckingham, "Steenie," favourite of James I and Charles I. Sir George Villiers was an honest Leicestershire squire who married for his second wife, Mary Beaumont, a dependent relative of Lady Beaumont's household. The lady's haughty spirit and arrogance were evidently transmitted to her son, the handsome Duke. Sir George died in 1606, and the lady married and buried two husbands thereafter. When

her son was made Marquis by King James, he obtained for her the title of Countess of Buckingham in her own right, and her pride in this condition knew no bounds. She died in 1632, four years after the assassination of her son, having spent much care and £560 in erecting a noble monument, built by Nicholas Stone, to herself and her first husband. The inscription stating that she was descended from five kings of England is regarded as somewhat nebulous.

Mildred Cecil (d. 1588), wife of the great Lord Burleigh, and her daughter, Anne (d. 1589), Countess of Oxford have a large sixteenth century monument of coloured marbles on the south wall. It shows very little beauty to represent the two gifted and beloved women, but was considered remarkable in its day. The monument stands twenty-four feet high, of various marbles, consists of two stories and a base, and bears two effigies of alabaster, all once "sumptuously gilt." The effigies rest on a sarcophagus, the daughter above the mother, as of higher rank. Lady Burleigh was one of "the four learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke," and appears in the rich costume of the period, painted red: both ladies have decided Roman noses: their hands are in prayer,

those of the mother being particularly well wrought. At the feet of Lady Burleigh kneels the effigy of her son, Robert Cecil, and over his head is the motto, *"Mors janua vitæ."* Over the mother are represented her three granddaughters, Elizabeth, Bridget and Susannah, with the motto, *"Mors mihi lucem."*

Lord Burleigh, who erected the monument with loving care, is not buried here but had a splendid funeral ceremony performed for himself over the graves of his wife and daughter.

Sir George Fane (d. 1618) and wife, Lady Elizabeth, have a monument against the southeast wall, of coloured marble and alabaster, painted and gilt, which towers up high into the arch of the window, and is similar in design and colour to the Cecil monument.

A huge Elizabethan monument of dark marble stands against the east wall, near the old altar, to Anne Stanhope, the widow of the Protector Somerset (d. 1587). Note the effigy with coronet, deep, fur-lined mantle and feet against a castle with portcullis. The Bourchier knot appears in various places. There are numerous decorations, beautifully executed, but of the grewsome taste of the period, such as the hourglass, funeral torches, pick-axe, spade,

bell, book, thigh-bones, roses and garlands. Up aloft are two ducal coronets, one on each side: a falcon with spread wings sits on each, but one has lost its head. The panelled soffit of the canopy arch is decorated with applied figures. The inscription reads: "A princess descended of noble lineage . . . here lies entombed . . . Anne, deare spouse unto the renowned Prince Edward, Duke of Somerset . . . with firm faith in Christ, in most mylde manner rendered she this life at ninety years of age on Easter Day." She was a lineal descendant of Edward III through Thomas Woodstock, his youngest son, and a haughty, proud and unmanageable lady. Her marriage to Edward Seymour, brother of Henry VIII's queen, Jane Seymour, who became Duke of Somerset, placed her for a brief period high in royal circles, having the King for her brother-in-law, and her pride and arrogance rendered her a duchess to be reckoned with. But when her husband, the Protector, was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1551 for felonious practice against his nephew, Edward VI, the proud lady was summarily imprisoned, "no man grieving thereat because her pride and baseness of life overbalanced her piety." The Protector's wealth was seized by the Crown, though

later restored in part to her favourite son, Edward, and a pitiful allowance was made for the once magnificent Duchess.

On Mary's accession to the throne she sued for pardon and was released. Shortly after, in 1553, she married Francis Newdigate, who had been in her father's household, but he died soon after. The old Duchess lived on to the age of ninety, dying in the nineteenth year of Elizabeth's reign. She was born in the reign of Henry VII and had seen the coming and going of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and so much of Elizabeth's life, with all the tremendously important events and tragedies connected with those Tudor years: her life might be called an epitome of the Tudors. This sumptuous tomb was erected to her memory by her oldest son, Edward, Earl of Hertford.

CHAPTER XVI

HENRY VII'S LADY CHAPEL

(Perpendicular Gothic, 1503-1519)

"The bewtie and curious contrived work whereof passeth my skill to set down: so sumptuous, so curious and so full of exquisite art it is, both within and without."—JOHN NORDEN, 1592.

THIS magnificent Lady Chapel, built by Henry VII, the first Tudor king, who reigned 1485-1509, forms the extreme eastern portion of the Abbey church.

Few places in England, I do not think of one other, are so thronged with intimate memories of the nation's later history and the nation's ennobled and royal dead, as this: and no chapels and few churches are such complete representatives of the style of architecture and the ornaments of the age in whch they were built. Few buildings are so thoroughly English in plan, architecture, ornament and association. In closing one's study of all that the chapel contains of sculpture, tracery, glass and monuments, one feels that a

HENRY VII's CHAPEL LOOKING WEST, WITH STALLS AND GATES

large volume might be devoted to the study of this one chapel alone and to the memories connected with the prominent lives of those who rest here.

At the head of the chapel which bears his name sleeps the royal founder with his queen by his side. They lie so nobly, so richly placed, so handsomely environed, their fine bronze faces so calm and reposeful, their hands in prayerful attitude, the tomb so securely guarded from careless or profane touch: they sleep so soundly after what was truly, for these two, "life's fitful fever," unmindful of all the mighty events and the marvellous changes in the four centuries since their eyes closed upon the dear English land to which they were ever loyal!

The study of the chapel usually begins with the laying of the cornerstone: but thus to approach its extended history is to lose a very large portion of those events which give it the interesting perspective, at the end of which lies the rich double tomb of the king and his queen. The four-and-twenty years' reign was the end, not the beginning, of these two lives. And even as Henry VII's chapel, when viewed from the west end of the Abbey, is seen to form its eastern terminus, so does its history move on, by stately steps and solemn

degrees, through nave, choir, sanctuary, the Confessor's chapel with its Plantagenet tombs, until, in the raised chantry of Henry V, the second Lancastrian king, we have an architectural and also an historical link connecting with the descendants of the Fifth Henry's queen by her second husband in this largest chapel of all.

Entrance to the chapel is by a triple-archway and a broad flight of steps at the east end of the choir ambulatory to a wide Vestibule into which the chapel opens.

The archway consists of a wide central and two smaller lateral arches supported on piers which help sustain the chantry chapel and screen of Henry V's chantry above. The piers are of especial interest because they represent three different periods of architecture: first, the heavy round Early English columns and their small encircling shafts of Henry III's building, as seen throughout the church, and as originally placed these guarded the doorway of the Early English Lady chapel: second, columns of fifteenth century design having moulded capitals, added in order to strengthen the support when the chantry was built above: and third the Perpendicular column of the early sixteenth century, placed here when the new chapel to the east was erected,

and which served not only to give additional support to the traceried stone vault but also to harmonize the more severe Early English architecture at the west with the enriched Perpendicular features of the new chapel at the east.

The Steps have their own peculiar interest. They were placed here* in imitation of the Scala Sancta of Pilate's palace in Jerusalem, hallowed by the footsteps of our Lord when Pilate showed him to the people, saying "Behold the Man!"†

The entire wall space of the broad vestibule at the top of the stairs is decorated with traveried panels. There are five enriched doorways, three of which open into the central aisle of the chapel and one into each side aisle. On all sides and in the vault appear sculptured stone bosses representing the numerous Tudor emblems and traceried designs which might profitably occupy an hour's study: but they are repeated again and again in the better light of the chapel beyond and need not detain us here. Notice, however, the

*Leslie's Catholic Guide.

†The original marble steps, 28 in number, are said to have been brought to Rome from Pilate's palace in Jerusalem by the Empress Helena and are now preserved in St. John Lateran; they are protected by a covering of wood and the faithful mount them kneeling, while they recite a *Pater* and an *Ave* at every step.

beautiful spandril tracery of the arched doorways: the tracery and ornaments of the frieze, and the rich arched vault of about seventeen feet span.

The magnificent Bronze Gates opening into the central aisle are better appreciated with all their wealth of emblems, badges, and devices, after studying the history of the building and the life of its founder.

The first impression of the interior of the chapel is its wonderful lightness, delicacy, richness and elegance. Floods of light pour down from the broad clerestory windows, which are filled with pale glass, illuminating all the delicate and beautiful details of the elaborate carved ornament, and revealing the graces of traceried stone and oaken crockets and pinnacles. The lacelike surface of walls and ceiling, the beautiful traceried and pinnacled oak stalls: the silently waving banners of the Knights of the Bath, worn and faded but revealing the dim colours of rich tapestries: the pale stone statues of saints and angels which cluster thickly upon the walls above the tombs: the dim, rich and solemn beauty of the metal-guarded monument of the king and queen at the head of the chapel: and the pleasant suggestions of ornament, monuments and lovely architectural details in the apsidal chapels and in

HENRY VII

From Vertue's engraving of the "Royal Family Piece," painted by Holbein on the walls of Whitehall Palace; taken from the copy made at the order of Charles II, by a pupil of Van Dyck.

the side aisles, all serve to enhance the first impressions of this wonderful Gothic chapel.

The Builder of the Chapel was Henry VII, but not as he lies now fairly in this chapel of his rearing, after a peaceful reign of two and twenty years, are we to form our estimate of this king. His history is so romantic and varied among those of the kings of England that it is difficult to understand how Shakespeare could pass it by.

The first king of the Tudor line, he came not easily or at once to the English throne. His father was not a king, nor yet his grandfather: nor had his mother or any of her family reigned in England, though his maternal grandmother was the daughter of a king of France. He came to the throne in 1485, after the hard-fought battle of Bosworth Field, where he defeated and slew Richard III, he being then twenty-nine years of age. As we have seen, he was the grandson of Katherine of Valois, not through King Henry V, but through her second husband, the brave but untitled Welsh soldier, Owen Tudor. Katherine's eldest son, Edmund Tudor, through the good offices of his half-brother, Henry VI, was created Earl of Richmond and was married to Margaret

Beaufort, the gifted, beautiful and wealthy heiress of the House of Somerset. Their only son was the child who became Henry VII, the first king of the Tudor line.

He was born at Pembroke Castle in Wales in 1456. "As a child of three, his mother presented him to the young King, Henry VI, his uncle, who solemnly blessed him, and placing his hand on the child's head, said, "This pretty boy will wear the garland in peace for which we sinfully contend."* He was said to be of a cheerful and courageous countenance, his hair yellow like burnished gold, his eyes gray, shining and alert.†

In order to protect her son, next heir of the House of Somerset, from the hostile house of York, his mother permitted him to be placed in the care of his uncle (the father having died very young), Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, who took him to the castle of his birthplace in Wales. This uncle proved his lifelong, valuable and faithful friend, a man of high integrity

*Holinshed.

†Henry VII never forgot his Welsh parentage. He was ever favourable and helpful to the Welsh interests, and under his son, Henry VIII, says Camden, they were admitted to an equal share in laws and liberties "with us English." A pedigree was studied out for this king by careful heralds, so extended that "Noah figured about midway."

and loyalty. The Castle of Pembroke was soon after stormed and taken by the Yorkists under Sir William Herbert, and the earldom taken from Jasper and presented to Sir William. The Lady Herbert, "a good and merciful lady, though a Yorkist, yet first of all honourable and noble," received the lonely child to her arms and brought him up with her three sons and six daughters, and young Henry was instructed "in all kinds of civility and well and honourably educated." He became very fond of the kindly Herberts, and later deeply attached to the daughter, Lady Maud, whom he wished to marry: and later (since Maud had married the Earl of Northumberland) he sought the Lady Katherine, her youngest sister.

The peaceful home life at Pembroke Castle was rulely interrupted when Henry was fourteen by the murder of Sir William Herbert, and later his uncle Jasper returned to the castle and his Earldom. Again the castle was besieged by the Yorkists and uncle and nephew barely escaped with their lives to Wales and thence to France, where they were shipwrecked on the coast of Brittany. Here they were at first hospitably received by Duke Francis: but for the twelve long years following, while Henry was between fourteen and

twenty-six, they were virtually imprisoned or at least their liberty successfully restrained by order of Edward IV, who paid Duke Francis a yearly pension for the young Earl's safe-keeping. An attempt of the English king to have Henry murdered on a voyage to England was frustrated through the friendship of Duke Francis: and Henry sought sanctuary at the convent of St. Malo. Here, realizing that his life was in great danger and that plans were constantly being made to beguile him from his place of refuge, he resolved to prepare himself to take orders in the Church and whiled away the lonely hours of his captivity in the study of Latin and the learning of the day. "The danger passed away, the learning remained to his future benefit."

In 1485, after the death of Edward IV, by the advice and support of his mother in England and of the French Queen-regent, Henry collected a fleet to sail for England and claim his right to the throne. He landed in Wales with his uncle, Jasper, went on to Tamworth and was received joyfully by the people, who were suffering under the cruelties of Richard III. At Redmore Heath, near Bosworth (not far from Birmingham), young Henry of Richmond, now twenty-nine

years of age, met the proud Yorkist, Richard III, brother of Edward IV (who in order to clear his own path to the throne had murdered the princes in the Tower, his nephews), at the head of an army of thirteen thousand men, about twice the size of Henry's army. King Richard rode a magnificent white charger and was clad in the same suit of burnished steel armour he wore at the battle of Tewkesbury: on his helmet was borne a regal crown.

High courage was needed on the part of the long-exiled prince to encounter his strong adversary who had an army more than double that which he commanded: for until the outset of the battle it was not known whether the forces of Lord Stanley, his stepfather, were to be on the side of the White Rose of York or the Red Rose of Lancaster. The result of the battle is well known. After Richard was slain, the proud crown on his helmet, concealed by one of his soldiers in a hawthorne bush, was discovered and carried to Lord Stanley (or, as some say, it was found by Sir Reginald Bray, who gave it to Lord Stanley), who placed it on the young Earl of Richmond's head, proclaiming him King, to the great joy of his people. "But if the extreme poverty of Richard III had per-

mitted him to continue the pension to the Duke of Bretagne, it is to be feared that the crown of England and the hand of the 'lovely Lady Bessy' would never have been won by Henry Tudor."*

The new king at once displayed his strength and his dignity as an independent

THE TUDOR ROSE

sovereign of England, for he was crowned in his own right, October 30, 1485, a few months after the victory at Bosworth, while his marriage to Elizabeth of York, through whom, as the Yorkists supposed, he was to gain his title to the kingdom, uniting the white rose and the red, did not take place until January 18, 1486, and he purposely deferred the queen's coronation until November, 1487. The Yorkists were much displeased by these delays and the fact that the new King had chosen to be crowned without any acknowledgment of the title he derived from his betrothal to the daughter of

*Strickland.

Edward IV. But the King at once secured Parliamentary recognition of his right in a declaration that the inheritance was "to be, rest and abide in King Henry VII and his heirs."

His delay in fulfilling his marriage pact occasioned some uneasiness on the part of Lady Bessy, as she was familiarly called, who had heard of his desire to marry one of the ladies Herbert, his boyhood friends, and also of his interest in an heiress of Brittany. Uneasiness was also apparent in the nation at large. It is said that when Christmas following the King's coronation approached and no preparations for the wedding had yet been made, the King being in the House of Commons, the latter, through one of their number petitioned him to take the princess to wife, as agreed: and all the members solemnly arose and bowed to the King, indicating that the wish was unanimous.

The marriage was joyfully celebrated, Cardinal Bourchier officiating, and all London was gay with decorations and fetes and bonfires. The nation rejoiced that the Queen, after a young life filled with sorrow and distress, uncertainty and peril, twice in sanctuary with her mother, pursued by the enmity of her cruel uncle, Richard, now came to the dignified state

of the most honoured lady in the kingdom. And the King, his youthful ardors tempered by the long years of captivity and uncertainty, proved himself vigorous in mind and body, one of the wisest princes of his age, so that he was called the Solomon of England.

His twenty-four years reign was an era of prosperity and peace. The Wars of the Roses were over: the country longed for rest. The young King and Queen, for the first time in many years, one might almost say for the first time in their lives (she was twenty and he thirty at this time) were in no mood for anything that did not savour of tranquility. It was a marvellously progressive age. The invention of printing: the use of gunpowder, changing the whole art of warfare: the study of the classic languages: the discovery of a new passage to the East Indies: the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, driving the Greeks to seek refuge in Italy with their tastes for art, literature and science, and in particular the discovery of America, "the most memorable incident that happened in this or any other period . . . an event that produced the greatest alteration in the affairs of Europe" . . . all these, though not depending on or influ-

enced by the English king, marked the era in which he reigned as one of the most important in history. The power of the Commons was materially increased at this time. People of lesser degree than the barons, enriched by the increase of commerce, were able to purchase rich estates of the nobles who had been impoverished during the long years of the Wars of the Roses, and thus became of much greater consequence in the kingdom.*

Henry's interest in navigation and discovery is well known, as is the fact that in 1501, when negotiations were in progress for the marriage of the heir of the English throne and the Spanish princess, Catherine of Aragon, Columbus dispatched his brother, Bartholomew, to England with a map, in order to arouse the King's interest and gain assistance: but the English King unhappily refused to be at any charge in the matter, "supposing the learned Columbus to build castles in the air." † One authority states that Henry joyfully granted assistance: but that as Bartholomew was returning with the good news to Spain, his ship was molested by pirates and before he could

*Astle.

†Castel's Short Discovery of America.

continue his journey, Spain had agreed to supply the necessary aid.*

Later, in 1497, he sent the Venetian Cabots on the voyage which resulted in the discovery of Labrador, but England was then a small country and had not sufficient wealth to utilize the discovery.

Henry VII died at fifty-four, not an old man as years go, but "woful and wasted" through the loss of his dearly loved son, Prince Arthur, and his queen. He is said to have accumulated wealth equal to nine million dollars of our money.

The Founding of the Chapel. The King had three objects in building this chapel, as his Will clearly states.

Primarily he intended it in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and its exact title, long since out of use, is The Lady Chapel of Henry VII. To the special grace and mercy of the Virgin Mary, the king in his Will makes his agonized appeal, since in her, next after her Son, he has constantly sought refuge. "I beg that she will now, in my most extreme hour of need, of her infinite pity take my soul into her hands and it present unto her most

*Columbus is reported to have said that Henry wrote him a letter of acceptance but it was then too late as he had already received the promise of aid from the Spanish Queen. — Nichols' Sebastian Cabot.

dear Son: Wherefore (he continues), sweetest Lady of Mercy, Very Mother and Virgin, Well of Pity and Surest Refuge of all needful, most humbly, most entirely, most heartily I beseech thee," etc. The King's intention is also clearly stated later on in the Will, where he refers to the chapel, "which we have begun to build anew in the honour of our Blessed Lady." With this appeal to the Virgin and the dedication in her honour the King includes various other saints, in particular ten, whom he considered his especial patrons, "mine accustomed avoures, to whom I call and cry," viz., St. Michael, St. John the Baptist, St. Anthony, St. John the Evangelist, St. Edward, St. Vincent, St. Anne, St. Mary Magdalene and St. Barbara, all of whom are represented on his tomb, in the imagery of his chapel and probably altars were dedicated to them in various parts of the chapel.

The second object in building the chapel, as mentioned in the king's Will, is that he desires to honour the church in which he and other kings have been crowned and in which so many kings are buried: and in particular because "here resteth . . . the body of our grand-dame of right noble memory, wife to King Henry V and daughter to King Charles of France."

The pitiful story of this beautiful queen is told in connection with her burial in Henry V's chantry, Chapter XIV. An altar tomb to her memory was built in the Early English Lady chapel by her son, Henry VI. This tomb was demolished by her grandson, Henry VII, in order to make way for his new chapel: also, "it is very probable that, as the inscription implied that she died a widow and not a wife, it occasioned the demolition of the tomb under the reign of her grandson, since Henry VII's descent was not from Henry V and Henry VI never acknowledged Owen Tudor as his stepfather." Yet it is certain that the Queen's body was not disturbed at this time because the Will of Henry VII distinctly alludes to his grandmother as buried in this chapel and he evidently intended to restore her monument on the completion of the chapel. But he died before his chapel was finished and at about this time the queen's body was exhumed, found to be in a remarkable state of preservation and, Henry VIII not interfering, it was for many years exhibited as a curiosity to whoever would pay for the privilege (v. Chap. XIV). At length, however, it was removed to a vault in the south ambulatory and later, by Dean Stanley's care, reverently placed in the chantry chapel of her husband.

Thus the intention of Henry VII to provide a stately home for the memory of his grandmother was frustrated by the indifference of Henry VIII.

Henry VI and the Chapel. The third object in building this chapel, and the second figure in this marvellously rich historical drama is Henry VI, the oldest son of Katherine of Valois and her only child by Henry V and his successor on the throne, the last of the Lancastrian kings. Into this new chapel, says the Will, "we propose right shortly to translate the body and relics of our uncle of blessed memory, King Henry VI." The translation could not have occurred at this period, and, as the will was written only twelve days before the death of Henry VII, there is no good reason for supposing that it took place in the brief remnant of life then remaining to him.

In order to understand Henry VII's relation to this King it must be recalled that Queen Katherine's three sons by Owen Tudor were at first, after the death of their mother, shamefully neglected by the Court and no provision made for their maintenance. But when the Abbess of Barking, to whose care they were committed, brought their neglected condition to the notice of Henry VI, their half-brother,

he gave them into the care of "discreet priests to be brought up chastely and virtuously." Later, Henry VI created Edmund, the eldest, Earl of Richmond, gave him the heiress of Somerset in marriage, and, as we have seen, their child became Henry VII.

Thus while the relation of Henry VI to the founder of this chapel was not of close blood kindred, yet the seventh Henry had great reason to be grateful to his royal uncle for many kindnesses to his father. Henry VII's title to the throne, if such ever existed, was gained rather through his mother, Margaret Beaufort, or through his wife, daughter of Edward IV. But another reason inspired Henry VII in thus naming the chapel in connection with Henry VI. The latter, though but a weak and trivial king, was gentle, pious, pure and clean in thought and life from childhood to his latest years, and, in a degenerate age, was ever faithful to his queen. He acquired a great reputation for sanctity, spent much time in study, and "in heavenward contemplation": saw visions and had moods of religious ecstacy, very much, it would seem, after the manner of Edward the Confessor. The services of his church were to him a sweet delight: on feast days he wore a hair shirt underneath

his robes, to mortify his body: he was especially devoted to the English saints and had arranged for the canonization of St. Osmond. Warfare and bloodshed were abhorrent to his holy nature, and while he had few qualifications for a king he had many for a mediæval saint and was revered as such by the most devout of his people.

The manner of his death—it is said that he was stabbed to death before the cross in the chapel in the Hall Tower, presumably by order of Richard of Gloucester or Edward IV—at once won him the name of martyr. His body was first taken to Chertsey Abbey for burial, where pilgrims came in great numbers and many miracles were wrought. In particular he was worshipped as a saint in Yorkshire, where numerous images of him were placed in the churches, as at Durham, Bungay, Ripon and York. At York minster an altar was dedicated to the king, and an old service book of this period contains prayers and a hymn to this mónarch.

Later, in 1504, interest in the martyred king revived. The body had been removed from Chertsey Abbey to St. George's, Windsor, and there was a great concourse of pilgrims to the tomb, not only from England but from lands beyond the

sea. Offerings were made and many eminent miracles reported, "the blind were made to see, the deaf to hear and the lame to walk."

All these statements having come to the notice of the Pope, Julius II, he issued a Commission in 1504 to inquire into the matter with reference to the canonization of the late King and the erection of a suitable shrine to receive his body. Henry VII's devotion to the king's memory revived at this period. Gratitude to this uncle and half-brother of his young father, whose friendly care and acknowledgment had wrought important and enduring changes in the prospects of the descendants of the Welsh soldier and the French queen, moved him deeply. He began to arrange for a rebuilding of the Lady chapel at the east end of St. George's, Windsor, intending to make that the place of his own sepulture.

But at this stage of the proceedings both Westminster Abbey and Chertsey Abbey laid claim to the saint's body, the former on the righteous ground that Henry VI had carefully selected the place of his own burial in the chapel of Edward the Confessor: and Chertsey, because Richard III had removed the body, without the consent of the monastery, from its original

resting-place. The decision was in favour of Westminster and to this Abbey Henry VII now transferred his interests and plans. Here he would found a new Lady chapel, enrich it with a glorious shrine for the saint, and here raise a noble chantry tomb for himself and his queen, and here, according to his Will, he proposed "right shortly to translate . . . the body and reliques of his uncle of blissful memory, King Henry VI."

The Pope granted a license for removing the body, but there is no record to show that the canonization was ever effected. The convent of Westminster contributed £5000, in present value, towards the removal, and though certain records seem to show that this was accomplished, the balance of proof, especially as gathered from the wills of Henry VII and Henry VIII, is against it: and the tradition which says that the body of Henry VI still remains in the south aisle of St. George's, Windsor, is undoubtedly correct.

These three objects of the King in founding the chapel were soon defeated: for with the Dissolution of the monastery under Henry VII's son, thirty years after the father's death, all services in honour of the Virgin Mary and the ten patron saints were done away with: the body of

the grandmother was never honoured, according to the King's second purpose in the new chapel, since he died before the building was finished: and the canonization and translation of Henry VI were also set aside.

The real meaning of the chapel, as it has stood for four centuries, is as a monument to the founder, a tomb for himself and his queen and for his successors to the throne. He intended that none but those of royal blood should be here buried, but seventy others have shared that honour with their sovereigns. Here, in its office as a Royal Mausoleum, are buried seven kings, nine queens, forty royal children and numerous other members of English royal families. Here, first of all to seek its shelter, lies the honoured, and beloved mother of the founder, Lady Margaret Beaufort: here, seven kings, in order, Edward V, Henry VII, Edward VI, James I, Charles II, George II, and William of Orange: and nine queens, in their order, Elizabeth of York, queen of Henry VII: Mary: Elizabeth: Mary Queen of Scots: Mary, wife of William of Orange: Anne: Anne of Denmark, queen of James I: Elizabeth of Bohemia, daughter of James I: and Caroline, queen of George II. Anne Hyde, the first wife

of James II, was also buried here, but she died before the king came to his throne and was never called queen, though two of her daughters, Mary and Anne, had that honour.

The forty royal children include the two princes murdered in the Tower, one of whom, Edward V, has been named among the kings: four children of Charles I: ten of James II: and eighteen of Queen Anne.

For all these kings and queens there are but three monuments, viz., one for the founder and his queen: one for Mary Queen of Scots and one for Mary and Elizabeth. The princes in the Tower have a small monument: and each of the two infant daughters of James I has a beautiful memorial in the north aisle. Not even an inscription marked the resting-place of the remaining members of royal families until the time of Dean Stanley, who caused the name and date of death of many of these to be inscribed on the paving stones above their respective graves.

No royal burials have taken place here since the time of George II. Modern royalty has sought less public places of interment. Queen Victoria and Edward VII are buried at Windsor.*

*It is a somewhat remarkable fact that no English sovereign has ever been buried in St. Paul's, the cathedral church of this capital city of England.

After the term Lady chapel ceased to be used, and prayers to the Virgin were no longer offered here, the chapel was for a time called St. Saviour's, and it was used not wholly as sacred or for worship but for special occasions and events as the consecration of bishops and the initial meetings of the Houses of Convocation of Canterbury. On the revival of the Order of the Bath, this was made the chapel of the Order, and the Dean of Westminster, *ex officio,* the Dean of the Order. The banners of the Knights of the Bath are still hanging over the stalls: the names of knights and esquires are still on their copper plates and the Dean wears the broad red ribbon and insignia of the Order though the ceremony of installation here was long discontinued.

Marriages and christenings of persons actually resident within the Abbey, as in the families of the Dean and canons: and confirmations of Westminster School boys may take place here. Burials are not "of right" in any part of the Abbey, the privilege being granted by the Dean "to persons of great and world-wide celebrity and distinction."*

The History of the Fabric. "In 1503,

*For information on this and some other points, I am indebted to the Chapter Clerk.

the twenty-fourth day of January, a quarter of an hour afore three of the clock, at afternoon of the same daie, the first stone of our ladie chapell within the monastery of Westminster was laid by the hands of John Islip, Abbot."*

This is the second Lady chapel on the same site. In Edward the Confessor's time the custom of honouring the Virgin by a special chapel had not come into general observance. In the latter part of the twelfth century the practice had become almost universal.

An Early English Lady chapel, called the chapel of St. Mary, was built here, the foundation stone being laid, in 1220, by the young prince of thirteen who became Henry III, the old Norman church of the Confessor still standing to the west, probably in good condition. The chapel was built, not by the King, but at the expense of the monastery, and indulgences were issued to subscribers. When completed, it was as large as the present chapel, less the side aisles and the eastern apsidal chapel, and terminated in a three-sided apse, the foundations of which were discovered in 1876. It had a timber roof at first and two altars, besides the principal

*Holinshed's Chronicle.

altar, dedicated* to St. Adrian and St. Michael, and two great paintings for the main altar, made by Peter of Spain before 1272, for which he was paid £80. Twenty tapers shone on the beam before the high altar and others were placed "in the hands of the angels." Abbot Berkyng was the principal builder.

This Early English Lady chapel, it must be remembered, was standing throughout the period of Henry III's rebuilding of the choir and nave, and on through the completion of the entire west end and cloister, until 1503. Its beauty may have appealed forcibly to the young King, whose interest in the Abbey would naturally be aroused at the time when he laid the first stone of the chapel with his boyish hands: and may possibly have been one of the inciting causes of his magnificent undertaking to rebuild the church itself.

A little chapel dedicated to St. Erasmus had been erected, either close to or else within this chapel, by Elizabeth Woodville, queen to Edward IV, and mother of the queen of Henry VII, who had found sanctuary at Westminster in her days of distress, and three of whose children are buried here where one, Edward V, was born.

To make room for Henry VII's new

*Matthew Paris.

chapel, this Early English building of Henry III, with the little chapel of St. Erasmus, was torn down: also a small house in which the poet Chaucer spent the last year of his life, referred to in his lease dated 1399 as "the tenement in a garden," closely adjoining the Lady chapel: and an old Inn close by known as The White Rose, adjoining Chaucer's house.

The chapel was begun in 1503, and, with the altar and the king's monument, completed not far from 1519, though the main portion was undoubtedly finished at least ten years before this time. Pope John II issued a Bull granting the same indulgence to those who visited this new chapel that was usually granted to those who visited the church of Scala Coeli in Rome.

The material used was, for the foundation, Kentish rag stone: for the plinth, Kentish stone from near Maidstone: for the corbels and flying buttresses, Huddlestone stone from Yorkshire: and for the great superstructure, Caen stone from Normandy.

Condition of the Chapel at the King's Death. The King died in April, 1509, having spent six years on the building: and so far as we are able to judge, the greater

part of the main structure was complete at that date. In the will he makes particular mention of the glazing of the windows "with stories, images, badges and cognizances," according to a pattern which he had already given to Prior Bolton of St. Bartholomew's: and also gives particular directions as to his tomb, which seems to have been scarcely begun. We know that the altar was not undertaken until after the tomb, and the Will refers to the closure or screen of copper and gilt "after the fashion that we have begone."

The King also urges, in the Will, the completion of the chapel, as soon as possible after his decease, now much nearer than he had anticipated. And he directs that doors, windows, vaults and statues, both within and without, be adorned with arms and badges: hence we may suppose that the numerous bosses and ornaments representing the Tudor emblems were largely wrought after his death. He mentions in the Will that he has already advanced £5500 to Abbot Islip for continuing the work and directs his executors to add such sums as may be necessary for its completion.

The glazing, stone ornaments and the tomb and altar must therefore have proceeded under Henry VIII, but doubtless

the young king would have little personal supervision of the chapel. The only fact that we have to guide us as to the probable date of the chapel's completion is that a contract was made with Torregiano for the high altar, March 11, 1517: and that in a later Contract with this same artist for a tomb to be erected for Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, dated January 5, 1519, there is a reference to "the tomb which the same Peter Torregiano before made and finished for Henry VII." Hence we may reasonably suppose that both chapel and tomb were finished before 1519 and probably the altar as well: and that the main structure was complete in 1517, when the contract for the altar was made.

The architect of the chapel is variously named by different authorities but no one knows the precise truth of the matter. Sir Reginald Bray (who, at the moment of victory at Bosworth Field which won the throne for Henry VII, brought to Lord Stanley the crown of Richard III) probably had much to do with this plan. He was a statesman and architect, possessed of great wealth, devoted to art, liberal and highly esteemed by the King, who made him High Steward of the University of Oxford, Knight of the Bath and

of the Garter. He had previously been Receiver-General and Steward of the Household to Sir Henry Stafford, the second husband of Henry VII's mother. His benefactions to churches and colleges were many: and his skill as an architect is evidenced in the design of St. George's, Windsor, which has fan vaults in the side aisles and in which he lies buried: in the nave and aisles of St. Mary's, Oxford, and in the choice Perpendicular chantry of Prince Arthur of Worcester cathedral both of which are attributed to him. Undoubtedly Bishop Alcock whose lovely fan-traceried chapel at Ely was built from his own design, had some connection with the plan. He had been Comptroller of the Royal Works and Buildings before Sir Reginald, was intimately associated with the King, and had built much at Cambridge. Prior Bolton of St. Bartholomew's, who had been a great builder at Canonbury, Harrow and St. Bartholomew's, succeeded Bray as Comptroller and the chapel was built under his direction.

Cottingham divides the honours of the design between Bray and Alcock. The latter died in 1500, before the first stone was laid: and Sir Reginald in 1503, when the work was barely begun. But it is reasonable to suppose that the plan of the

chapel was due to the two Comptrollers, each of whom had already built in the same style elsewhere, the king being a member of the council, and that Prior Bartholomew directed the completion of the work. While it is undoubtedly true that the architect, as a distinct official, was not known in the earlier Middle Ages (Gotch), and that the work was divided up among several workmen, yet I see no ground for following a recent writer who assigns the plan of this noble chapel to a master mason.

While the architect may not be named with certainty, we know something of those who carried out his plans. Three master workmen or masons are named as employed on the chapel, Robert Vertue, Robert Jenins and John Lebons. Both architect and workmen must have been marvellously skillful in order to produce this intricate and complex design and its expression in an almost infinite variety of detail.

This delicate gem of architecture, so rich and beautiful when complete with all its furnishings, had but a brief history in its first magnificence. After the Dissolution of the monastery in 1540, the exterior was gradually suffered to fall to decay. No longer were heard here the sweet

voices of priests whom the royal founder had appointed to sing masses for his soul so long as the world should endure. The rich plate, crucifixes, tapestries, images of gold and silver, the sparkling glass, were either conveyed away, broken up or else melted and marred. Sir Christopher Wren wrote concerning the chapel* that it was "a nice embroidered work and performed with tender Caen stone, and though lately built in comparison, is so eaten up by our weather that it begs for some compassion, which I hope the sovereign power will take, as it is the Regal Sepulture."

But the century rolled on and another and another began, witnessing its further decay, until, in the early years of the nineteenth century, it had become a neglected and almost shapeless mass and the beautiful traceried roof was perishing when Dean Vincent petitioned the Lords of the Treasury for money to save it from total ruin. The Abbey had suffered much from fire in 1803, and funds were urgently needed for the main structure, hence none could well be spared for the chapel. The report made by the Dean and chapter seems to indicate, however, that it was chiefly the exterior that was affected, while

*Parentalia, new edition, p. 158.

the interior was "without break or settlement." The windows had decayed so that they had to be propped up by timbers and the turrets and buttresses were in such a lamentable condition that passers-by were endangered by the falling of stones.

Between the years 1807 and 1823 repairs were arranged for: the beautiful vaulted ceiling was protected, during the progress of the external repairs, by a timber platform which was inserted between the wood and stone roofs for the entire length of the chapel. The estimated cost of repairing a single buttress was £668. Wyatt, the destroyer of so much beautiful Gothic architecture in England, work whose beauty neither he nor the deans and chapters who employed him and permitted the destruction appreciated, was allowed to cut down much of the fine imagery, especially of the exterior. With the carefulness exercised in cathedral restorations today, much might well have been repaired and restored to almost its original beauty. So thoroughly was the exterior rebuilt that today, after a lapse of more than ninety years, it seems like a work of yesterday in its uncompromising freshness and hardness of line.

For these extensive repairs, Parliament granted £2000, to which later additions

were made until the entire sum expended was £42,000.

The original cost of the building was £14,000, equal to at least £70,000 in present value. The external length of the chapel is one hundred and fifteen feet two inches: height of vault, sixty feet seven inches, and of the roof, eighty-five feet five inches. The aisles are sixty-two feet five inches long and seventeen feet two inches broad.

The Plan. It is quite worth while to sit down on one of the old oak seats in the lower range of stalls which have furnished relief to many a modern pilgrim, in order to gain a general idea of the chapel before attempting to study its details.

Its shape is rectangular with a rounded or apsidal east end and it consists of a broad main aisle or nave of four wide bays with side aisles: and an apse formed by five radiating chapels. At the east end of the main aisle, behind the modern altar, stands the principal object of the chapel, the rich tomb of Henry VII and his queen, enclosed within a metal grille.

The main aisle is built in two lofty stages, a main arcade and a clerestory. Between the two runs a very richly sculptured triforium band, of the sort so popular in the late Decorated and the Perpendicular periods, consisting of an unbroken

range of canopied niches containing large stone figures on lofty traceried pedestals, and below them, a series of demi-angels with extended hands which seem to be grasping the various Tudor emblems. This sculptured range extends entirely around the chapel's main aisle and apse and at the east end of the aisles.

A wide, lofty and beautiful panelled arch rises between the main bays of the aisle and the apse, adding much to the general appearance of the interior, the broad soffit being enriched with canopied figures on beautiful pedestals.

The main arcade of four bays consists of low, broad arches resting on piers of such delicate proportions that they suggest no usefulness. The clerestory is wide and lofty, having a continuous series of broad, five-light windows with traceried transoms. The West window occupies nearly all the west wall space and below it may be traced two of the original twelve consecration crosses.

Low stone screens once separated each of the five apsidal chapels from the main aisle, but only parts of two now remain. The side aisles, originally opening to the main aisle, are now shut off by the long range of lofty choir stalls and must be entered from the vestibule.

The main structure of the chapel

was built in about nine years and is throughout of the Late Perpendicular Gothic style, richly embellished with carved stone images and Tudor emblems. The prominent characteristics of the style were fully established and no experiments were necessary. The architect understood the problems with which he had to deal and could afford to enrich as he desired. Many notable works had been produced which he might imitate with success. The Perpendicular choir of York had been standing complete for an entire century when this chapel was begun: Canterbury's noble nave and main transept, Gloucester's lovely choir and the Winchester nave, all in this style, very nearly as long.

It was a style well adapted, especially in its latest developments, to the rich ornament necessary in a small structure, in which sculptured detail was not too far removed from the range of the eye. The traceried vault was also most effectively employed in such buildings since its tendril-like designs would not be so wholly lost sight of as in a great architectural composition.

The architect of this chapel introduced several unusual features in his building for which we owe him a debt of gratitude.

Instead of the rectangular apse usual at this period, he went back to an earlier French idea, employed by Henry III in the main structure of the church, and gives us, not an exact rendering of that model, but five polygonal radiating chapels at the east, in perfect harmony with the chevet of the choir, but by their very beautiful broken outline forming a choice and elegant termination to the great Gothic structure. Moreover, the outline of his external wall, as seen in the plan, is curiously and cunningly caused to wave in and out, both in aisles and chapels, irregular yet symmetrical, with most pleasing effect, by the simple expedient of a series of angled bay windows which, when filled with fine coloured glass, must have been of superior elegance and beauty, and well adapted to the entire structure.

Again, while he gives us a very ample clerestory, fitted with windows so wide and so lofty as to form an almost unbroken wall of glass, according to the custom of the period, and thus furnishing ample light to disclose the delicate beauties of the interior decorations, he also provides a triforium stage almost as ample, on which to display his rich array of sculptured images and emblems. He gives us remarkable gates, a feature not usually employed with

distinction in the Perpendicular chapel: and a vault of almost transcendant delicacy and beauty over it all. He panels all his walls so that no area is left unadorned: his windows are transomed and traceried in the most elaborate fashion of this late style: and as if working under the immediate eye of a king who realized that his title to the throne was not altogether unassailable, he places everywhere, on the bosses of his vault, in the quarries of his windows, in the hands of the stone angels and, no doubt, on the original tiles of his pavement, the emblems of York and Lancaster, the Nevilles, Cadwallader, Beaufort, etc.

Yet so carefully has this architect grouped his figures and so nicely calculated his effects that no appearance of heaviness or of over-ornamentation is produced. It is a royal chapel built from the royal treasury, furnished by royal hands, and it is to furnish a resting-place for those who have lived royally, in splendid palaces: been crowned with magnificent ceremony, and moved in the centre of all that was grand and stately in the world. For such we expect a fitting place for the solemn burial, and here we find entombed kings, queens, and princes and princesses many. And here and there a noble soul, not of

the blood royal, but of nature's royalty such as an Addison and a Cromwell, or Cromwell's sweet daughter has been offered a last resting-place among England's sovereigns.

The Nave is entirely shut off from the side aisles and seems to be a chapel by itself. It measures fifty-five feet four inches in length, thirty-four feet six inches in width and is sixty feet high. The main arch of the entrance is eleven feet across: the side arches four feet three inches. A great arch at the east separates the four principal bays from the eastern chapels in the apse, its sides and soffits being enriched with canopied niches containing figures of the same sort as those in the triforium stage.

The Imagery. "I trust to the singular mediation and prayers of all the company of heaven."—Henry VII's Will.

The triforium stage or border contains a very interesting series of those saints and holy men and women to whom the King, in his Will, did particularly "call and cry," with many others.

The Figures in the main aisle are about three feet high, those in the side aisles, where they may have served as reredoses for the small altars, and in the eastern chapels, are five feet and stand on elabo-

rately carved and pierced stone pedestals of much beauty. Over them arch lovely stone vaulted canopies. Originally the figures were one hundred and seven in number, and ninety-five still remain in good preservation, being out of harm's way. Cromwell, however great his dislike to blasphemous images of saints, may have desired that the chapel in which he proposed to make his burial and that of his family should retain most of its charm. The names on the labels of the images have disappeared.

The workmanship is of varying excellence, "from very good to very bad." The earliest, possibly from the Early English Lady chapel, are of Reigate stone and of loftier proportions than the latest, which are of Caen stone. The series is an important one, whatever its date, and next to that on the west front of Wells cathedral, is the largest collection of mediæval sculptured saints now remaining in England. The figures are often individual, full of expression and remarkably well preserved. A few are selected for mention.

Five figures in the Second bay on the south side include, first, St. James the Great, in the usual pilgrim's garb, because he was the first of

the apostles to begin the work of evangelization: and also in allusion to the popular pilgrimages to his shrine at Compostella. The broad hat is turned up in front and is decorated with a scallop shell: the scrip is at his right side, with staff and rosary and he bears the crossed keys, usually the emblem of St. Peter. The third figure is called St. Hubert of Liege, with his emblem, the stag, in allusion to the fact that in youth he had been passionately fond of hunting. The legend is that while pursuing this pleasure in Holy Week, "while good Christians were at their devotions," a vision of the Crucifixion suddenly appeared to him between the horns of a milk-white stag, and this resulted in his conversion. The same story is told of St. Eustace, as in the mural painting in the north aisle of Canterbury cathedral: but Eustace is represented as a Roman soldier, while St. Hubert is in episcopal robes, as in this image. St. Hubert is the patron saint of the chase and also of dogs. It was supposed that bread blessed at his shrine would heal those afflicted with hydrophobia. The saint is here represented bearing a veiled pastoral staff, while the stag rests his head confidingly against one whom he no longer fears. The fourth figure is that of St. Anthony, a venerable

man with long beard, bearing a book and a bell, with the pig, his emblem, at his feet. The bell was to drive away evil spirits: the pig, a symbol of base appetites which he resisted during a long life of one hundred and four years, seventy-five of which were spent in the desert.

In the Third bay, the first figure is that of St. Amphibalus, the early Christian priest who converted St. Alban, and like him was a martyr to his faith in the reign of Diocletian. He is reading from an open book: at his left is a double-crank windlass, suggesting his martyrdom. The third figure is that of St. Hugh of Lincoln, with mitre and crozier, and a book from which he reads: at his feet is his emblem, a swan, with outspread wings. The fifth figure is St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 988), holding the nose of a writhing demon in pincers. While a monk at Glastonbury, this saint became very proficient in metal working and the devil came to tempt him as he wrought at his forge, when the saint seized him with red-hot pincers.

In the Fourth bay, the second figure is that of St. Laurence (d. 258), reading a book which rests on a gridiron, the emblem of his martyrdom. He was of Spanish birth and in youth served the Pope as deacon:

hence he is here represented in deacon's robes, the bordered dalmatic worn over an alb, and a maniple on his arm. He was called "the courteous Spaniard" because of the legend that when his sarcophagus was opened after his death in order to receive the relics of St. Stephen, he moved to the left, thus giving the place of honour at his right hand to the saint. The third figure is St. John the Baptist, one of the King's patron saints, and the fifth, probably St. Mary Magdalene, with very long hair, richly jewelled turban, bearing a box (of ointment) and a napkin. Her robe is tied with a tasselled sash. There is a tradition that she, with a company of other Christians, was set adrift by Pagans in a boat without sails or rudder, and left to die: but that the boat floated to Marseilles, where she spent the last thirty years of her life in solitude in penance for her sins. She is the patron saint of Marseilles.

This brings us to the great sculptured arch which separates the four bays of the main aisle from the five small apsidal chapels at the east. The soffit of this great arch is set with canopied figures like those in the principal series, all wrought with much delicacy. The first figure in the principal series is that of St. Hilary, robed,

with mitre and staff, her right hand pointing upward.

Over the first arch in the apse on the North side are four figures of women: Susannah, bearing the palm of martyrdom and by her side a small block on which rests her dissevered head: St. Margaret, one of the Four Virgin Patronesses, terribly tortured for her faith and thrown into a dungeon where a huge dragon appeared to frighten her, but vanished when she held up the sign of the cross. She was finally beheaded, but "in all her torments ceased not to speak to the people of her Lord, and multitudes accepted Christ through her words." She is represented crowned and treading under foot a dragon, which is biting the shaft of the cross in her hand. A beautiful group follows: St. Anne teaching her little daughter, the Virgin Mary, to read. Figures and faces are delicately sculptured and very attractive. The child stands before the mother and is reading aloud. St. Catherine, the beautiful Christian queen of Alexandria, has her right hand resting on a wheel to which she was bound, but it took fire miraculously and the executioner and three thousand others perished. She was finally beheaded. She is said to have been so learned that "she could have answered all those things

which the Queen of Sheba proposed to Solomon." When she was dead, "angels took up her body and carried it over the desert and over the Red Sea till they deposited it on the summit of Mt. Sinai. There it rested in a marble sarcophagus, and in the eighth century a monastery was built over her remains." She was a popular mediæval saint and in England alone fifty-one churches were dedicated to her. She is here represented trampling under foot the Emperor Maximian in allusion to her triumph over paganism. St. Philip is represented here as an old man with spectacles, reading, and bearing the martyr's cross.

In the Central or eastern arch of the apse, our Lord is represented with his mother and his chief apostles. The central figure is our Lord (one of the few images of this sort suffered by the Puritans to remain in the churches), a venerable man enthroned with his feet on the orb of the earth. On one side stands the Virgin, in a rich robe, her long hair flowing: on the other, the Annunciation is represented. The outermost figures are St. Peter with book and key: and St. Paul, with a book and the sword of his martyrdom.

The figure of Noah, in the Second arch, the third figure, is perhaps one of the

earlier series since it is almost the exact counterpart of this patriarch as carved on the west front of Wells cathedral and also as he appears in the old sculptures on the west front of Lincoln cathedral. He wears a cap with ear-lappets and holds up the hull of the ark which he is building.

St. Uncumber or Wilgefortis, called also St. Liberata, was the beautiful Christian daughter of a king of Portugal in the second or the fourth century to whom women who wished to be rid of their bad husbands prayed. Her father, wishing to make peace with Sicily, offered the king his daughter in marriage: but Wilgefortis desired to devote her life to religion and prayed to be freed from the king's importunities through some bodily defect which should render her unattractive. In answer to her prayers a beard was granted her. The angry father caused her to be crucified on a Tau cross, which is represented in the sculpture as her emblem. Because undesirable husbands were supposed to be carried away by horses furnished by the evil one, oats, the food of horses, were offered at her shrine. She is very seldom represented in collections of saints but a famous image of her once existed at St. Paul's. She is painted on one of the wings on a *Pieta* at Bruges, attributed to

Memling, with SS. Barbara, Adrian and Mary of Egypt. In this chapel she appears resting her book on the Tau cross of her martyrdom.*

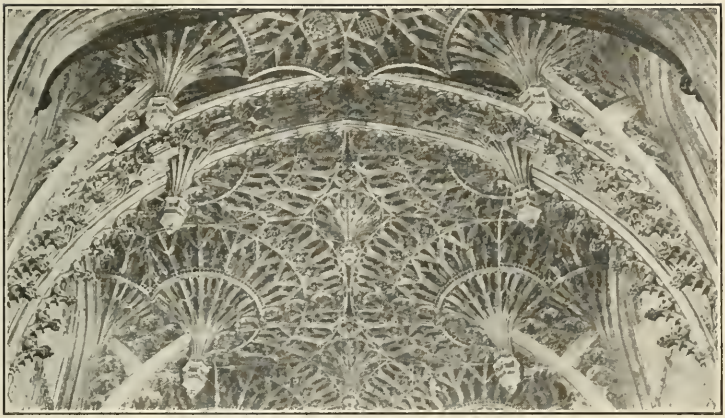
On the south soffit of the arch, the lower figure on the east side is St. Jerome, in cardinal's robes, with book open on a reading-desk, and holding a stylus in one hand. The lion who came to his cave to have a splinter removed rests his forepaw against the saint's knee. The third figure on this soffit is that of an aged man wearing spectacles while a kneeling woman presents a cup. Spectacles were invented in the thirteenth century and are an unusual feature in sculptured images of saints: possibly these may be referred to the earlier figures wrought when the invention was new.

Over the first arch of the nave on the South side, the first figure is that of St. Helena, Empress, mother of Constantine the Great, crowned, holding an open book which rests on a Tau cross, alluding to her vision of the locality in which the true cross might be found.

*Twenty pages of the Acta Sanctorum are devoted to the history and legends of this saint. See also Father Cahier's Caracteristiques des Saintes dans l'Art populaire, 1867, p. 21: also Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson in Journal of the Archæological Association, vol. 3, n. s.

The great number of books represented in connection with the figures (there are at least sixteen) must be apparent to any student of the series. Has it, perhaps, some allusion to the fact that the art of making bound books was then in its infancy: that Caxton, in the years 1477-1491, was printing on his wonderful press, within the Abbey precincts: and that the Lady Margaret was deeply interested in the new invention and was one of his most powerful patronesses. The earliest press in England was set up here in 1477, and no doubt Henry VII would be interested in this new development of the age.

Directly below the series of sculptured figures and above the arches of the main arcade in this main aisle is a range of Demi-Angels, so-called, carved in stone, which continue around the chapel, forming with the statuary above, a notable triforium stage or border. The angels are of interest from the variety of their expression and posture and for their vivacity and grace: some are singing, some are smiling. There is much spirit and suggestion in the carving of their delicate hands, which do not meet over the shields or emblems between each pair but they have the appearance of joining hands. There is also a variety in their dress, some are in



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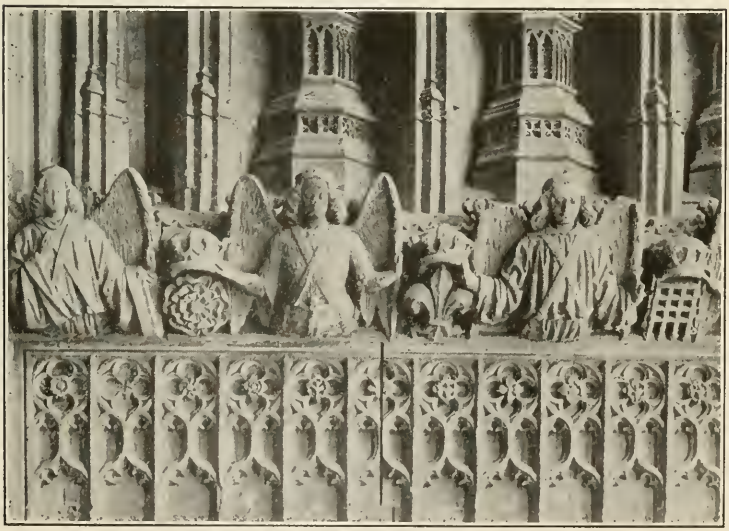


Demi-angels, with Tudor Emblems

deacon's robes, some have feathered bodies.

The West Wall. The three great bronze folding gates occupy the entire width of the main aisle. Above them runs a row of the demi-angels with emblems, like those of the north and south sides. The great Perpendicular window above, of fifteen lights, has three transoms, two principal mullions, and contains a greater amount of its original glass than is to be found in its place within the entire abbey. Notice below the window, marked on the traceried panels, three small Consecration Crosses, painted on the stone above the gates, now worn and dim, a part of the series, twelve within and twelve without, one for each of the twelve Apostles, once found on the walls of all Christion churches and chapels.*

On this west wall there is a cross in each of the three main divisions of the arcade and each has a wooden plug in the centre and another twenty inches below, prob-

*The anointing of these consecration crosses by the bishop, formed an important part of the consecration ceremony and was attended by a solemn procession of the clergy with altar boys. A metal pin was often placed below the cross on which to fix a candlestick for use at the consecration and other festivals. When any one portion of a church was dedicated separately, as in the case of this chapel, all of the twenty-four crosses were applied to it.

ably to fix the candlestick. These crosses are painted on the wall: elsewhere, as at Salisbury and Exeter, for example, they are carved in stone.

The Clerestory consists of large five-lighted windows which furnish ample light for the nave, each filling the entire space of a bay, having two transoms, two principal and two inferior mullions. The tracery in the head of each light consists of three cinquefoiled arches. There is a large window at the east and another at the west. The range of clerestory windows continues around the eastern chapels. The aisles have their own beautiful little bay windows, angled in and out in an unusual style.

The Vault of this wonderful chapel is undoubtedly one of the most interesting and important as well as one of the most beautiful architectural features of the building. It is a fan-traceried vault and by far the largest and richest example of its sort in England. The design is undeniably English, and so far as I have been able to discover, it is not even suggested in the vaulting of any Gothic church on the Continent. Assuredly it is not French, and has not been borrowed from or suggested by any detail of French vaulting. As a specimen of intricate and skilful ma-

sonry it is notable and valuable, reflecting the greatest possible credit on the architect who planned it and the workmen by whose mechanical skill it was executed.

While the general aspect of the vault is delicate, fragile and lacelike, so that it seems to be composed, not of hard stone, but of some material almost filmy in its structure, like the frost on the window or the gray spider's web, and apparently so unsubstantial that a strong wind might sweep it away utterly, yet every stone of it was carefully measured and adjusted to its position with such accuracy and thoroughness that the entire ceiling stands today in its place after four centuries, seemingly untouched by the hand of time. Its pierced and delicate stone pendants still fall with perfect grace from the midst of the traceried designs and the carved emblems which appear as bosses still stand firmly as if but recently placed in position.

"The peculiar airiness of this vaulting arises, in a principal degree, from the variety and boldness of the panelled tracery which spreads over the surface like a net of exuberantly-wrought lacework, whereon the ground is composed of circles and radii and the intervening spaces occupied by an elegant diversity of orbicular and other forms: all of them, however,

being repeated in the same order in every circle, and every circle, in its proportions and arrangements forming an exact counterpart to the same division of the work in each pendant."*

The fan-traceried vault was peculiar to the late Perpendicular and Tudor periods. Probably the earliest example is found in the beautiful cloisters at Gloucester cathedral, built c. 1450, in which the bays are square instead of oblong, as in the later examples. Other fan vaults are seen in the Dean's chapel at Canterbury, dedicated in 1460: in the choir of Oxford cathedral, which is of the same general plan as this of Westminster: in the Divinity School at Oxford: in Bishop Alcock's chapel at Ely, built in the closing years of the fifteenth century (Alcock being Henry VII's Comptroller of the Royal Works and Buildings), and at King's College, Cambridge, completed in 1515. St. George's, Windsor, has a late vault of fan tracery in its side aisles, and a beautiful design in this style in the crossing bay, dated 1528.

The Westminster vault is cross-groined over oblong compartments. The pattern consists (briefly and avoiding technical terms) of a series of three concentric circles of cut stone placed flatly on the vault,

*Neale and Brayley.

from the common centre of which a beautiful, lacelike, traceried and pierced stone pendant gracefully falls. Not one of the concentric circles is permitted to entirely complete itself because its pattern must be adjusted to the space to be filled. There are two rows of these large concentric circles in the main aisle from east to west, and from the space between their junction in the central line of the vault four beautiful large pendants droop, similar in design to those which depend from the circles in the two long rows. Open tracery of beautiful and effective design fills all the space between the concentric circles. The vault is curiously supported by arches which rest on triple vaulting-shafts wrought on the faces of the piers, the arches richly crocketted but the central portion of each is obscured by the applied ornament of the vault. The effect of this supporting arch is as if the ribs pierced through the centre of a great circular pendant of stone.

"To prevent the groins from spreading at the haunches, or, as it is technically named, kicking, the space between them and the side piers is occupied by perforated masonry intersected by stays and cross-bands, placed diagonally. . . . At the angles of the piers, between the groins and

the clerestory windows, are half-pendants: and from the central point of the arch, above each window, a secondary division of the vaulting takes its rise, which fills up all the interstices between the outer circles of the great pendants: its projecting lines meeting at the apex and being there formed into smaller pendants about four feet in diameter, which key the whole together."*

The Indenture for the vault† shows that it was to be built at a cost of £1200, and according to the design or "platt" made and signed "with the handes of the lordes, executors unto the kyng of most famous memory (this seems to prove that the vault was not built in the king's lifetime), whose sowle God pardon." Further it was provided that it should be completed in three years: that it should be set up "after the best handling and form of good workmanship" (as it undoubtedly was),

*Neale.

†The magic of the roof is the same as that which is exhibited in countless American structures in steel, which carry immense weights across rivers and valleys. It is the result of calculation and of applying means to an end. The tendency of stones to fall is counteracted by another mechanical force and the consequence is the stability which has lasted above four hundred years. The external surface which is visible from the floor of the chapel is less interesting though more beautiful than the arrangement of the stones which is concealed.—*The Architect,* June 22, 1900.

and that for the workmen's use the vault should be provided with wheels, cables, robynettes, saws, etc.*

As specimens of masonry and of geometrical skill and precision, the stones of the vault are wonderful pieces of craftsmanship and the stone-cutting alone is no mean achievement when we consider what would have been the consequences of inaccurate measurements or cutting. "Profound geometrical knowledge is combined with the utmost practical skill . . . even the intelligent architect wonders at the ingenuity and daring hardihood that could arrange and securely poise in air such ponderous masses of stone and counteract the power of gravity by professional skill. All the pendants are contrived on such exact geometrical principles that the stones composing each have the effect of keystones, and as the groins which intersect them, and indeed form a part of the general mass, abut against the cross-springers which stretch over the aisles from the exterior buttresses, the whole vaulting is, by that means, made steadfast and immovable."†

*The area of a single bay of the King's College vault was about 900 square feet and £320 were set aside for the painting and gilding. The vault of St. George's, Windsor, of practically the same date as this of Westminster, was built in two years at a cost of £700.

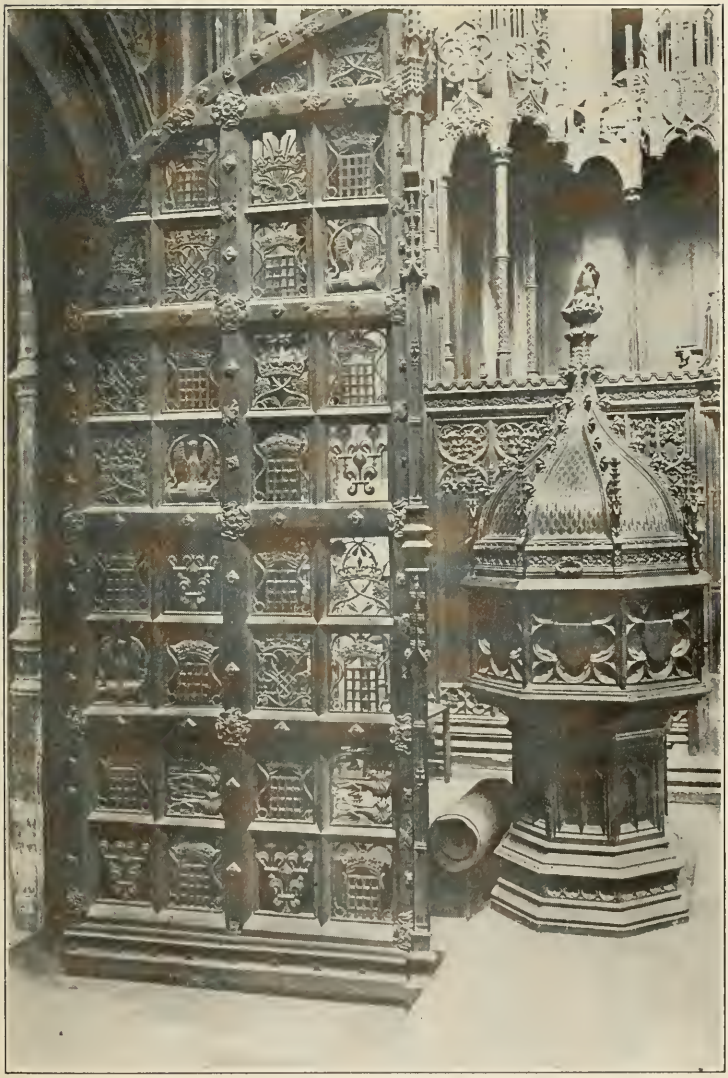
†Lethaby.

It is of interest to note that these seemingly delicate vaults in Henry VII's chapel are protected in the central and side aisles by a timber roof which runs beneath the outer roof of lead, and that the space between roof and ceiling forms an ample chamber through which one may walk with ease and which is lighted by Gothic windows.

The Bronze Gates. The large, richly sculptured bronze gates by which the main aisle of the chapel is entered at the west suggest the entire history of the building's founder.

There are three large folding gates to the central aisle, the central pair being considerably the largest: each pair is double, and all are exquisitely wrought of bronze in Tudor designs and emblems which are riveted to a wooden framework. "Once shining, now dim, they are not only an exquisite specimen of a rare kind of work but also illustrate the quiet but intense determination of Henry VII to put into the forefront every possible indication of his claims to the crown of England."

Each gate is composed of small openwork bronze panels, the rivets which fasten them together being ingeniously concealed under small roses with which the



A Bronze Gate

bars are thickly studded. There are twenty-eight of these panels in the smaller doors: thirty-three in each large door, and each contains a single beautifully wrought emblem. "The junctions where the roses and slides meet and where, consequently, the metal is mitred, are covered by large, flat roses: but how they are secured from falling out is more than I can tell."* The whole appears as if it were cast in one piece. The buttresses at the angles and the lock plates should be studied.

The Tudor Emblems. The subjects of these designs were no doubt as carefully thought out by the king as was every other detail of the chapel. Each emblem has its own story to tell of some incident or person linked with the life of the founder. Each is repeated over and over again in the stone carving of the triforium stage, in the bosses of the ceiling, in the quarried glass, on the tomb and grille of the founder and his queen and, no doubt, originally in the tiles of the pavement.

The object of the lavish use of these emblems is usually supposed to be the desire of the first Tudor king to substantiate his claim to the crown.†

*Scott.

†As we have seen, this claim is not usually considered a valid one. Assuredly "he gained his

The Emblems are:

1. The Red Dragon, the ensign of Cadwallader, the last British king, from whom Henry claimed to be the hundredth in descent. This red dragon, painted on white and green silk, was Henry's standard at the battle of Bosworth Field. The victory was commemorated by the institution of a Pursuivant-at-Arms by the name of *Rouge Dragon.* The famous banner, with other trophies of the victory, was offered at St. Paul's.

2. The Red Rose of the House of Lancaster, from his mother, Margaret Beaufort, the great-great-granddaughter of Edward III through her great-grandfather, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Edward III's third son.

3. The Root of Daisies, the special cognizance of his mother, the Lady Margaret, the Countess of Richmond.

4. The Portcullis, also of the Beauforts, his mother's family, with the motto, *Altera Securitas,* which Henry added, indicating a repetition of his claim to the throne which he derived through John of

crown by no secret intrigues, no cruel murders, no thwarting the will of the nation at large, and he displaced a cruel tyrant under whom the country was suffering and not prosperous: but it would have puzzled the most acute controversialist to discover in what his right consisted."—Gardiner.

Gaunt, from the Beaufort Castle in Anjou, inherited by Edmund Crouchback, from his wife, Blanche of Navarre.

THE PORTCULLIS

5. The Double Rose, formed by the union of the roses of York and Lancaster, the white rose of York being the emblem of his queen, Elizabeth of York, "the sweet posie wherein the white and red roses were first tied together."

6. The interwoven initials, H R (Henricus Rex), both with and without the crown.

7. The Falcon within an open fetterlock, badge of the Yorkist king, Edward

IV, the Queen's father. "It is said that the first Duke of York built his castle in the form of a fetterlock and gave to his sons who asked the Latin for fetterlock the expressive answer, *Hic, hæc, hoc, taceatis,*" i. e., "Locked up from the hope of a kingdom but . . . be quiet and silent as God knoweth what may come to pass."

8. The three *fleur-de-lis* of France. Henry had the royal blood of France in his veins by his grandmother, daughter of the French King.

9. The three Lions of England.

10. The Greyhound of the Nevilles, borne by Ciceley Neville, wife of Richard, Duke of York, mother of Edward IV, hence grandmother of Henry VII's queen.

11. The Rose in Splendour, or *Rose en Soleil,* the badge of Edward IV, which is said to have appeared and scattered the unfriendly mists at the battle of Barnet.

12. The Crown interwoven with the Thistle of Scotland, in allusion to the marriage of the King's daughter, Margaret, to the King of Scotland.

13. The Hawthorn Bush, usually fruited and bearing a crown, the King's peculiar emblem, referring to the fact that the crown which Richard III bore on his helmet when he rode to battle at Bosworth, was hidden by one of his soldiers

after the defeat, in the midst of a hawthorn bush and thence borne to Henry.*

THE STAINED GLASS

(Perpendicular, 1509-1516)

"Lucem tuam da nobis, o Deus."—Motto of the Company of Glaziers and Painters in Glass, incorporated in 1637.

Henry VII's Will directs "that the windows of our chapel be glazed with stories, images, arms, badges and cognizances, as is by us already devized and in picture delivered to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's, Master of the Works of the same, our chapel."

In conformity with this wish, the richest glass of the period was selected, the most famous glaziers employed and ample time allotted for the task. How splendid must have been the effect when all the ten clerestory windows, the spacious west window of fifteen lights forming almost an entire wall of glass: and the curious angled-windows of the aisles and apsidal chapels forming another almost continuous wall of glass, diversified with tracer-

*It is told of Lord Hervey that on one occasion he explained "a pair of old brass gates in Henry VII's chapel," to George II and Queen Caroline with such eloquence and understanding that the Queen was exceedingly pleased and the jealous king "stopped the conversation short."

ied panellings, their angles furnishing the best possible advantage for the displaying of the varied beauties of ruby and sapphire, emerald and amber and silver, were fully complete with their treasure of this wonderfully decorative ornament.

This lavish adornment of glass harmonized with the other magnificent appointments of the chapel and was in conformity with that clause of the king's Will which directed that the chapel be "painted, garnished and adorned in as goodly and rich a manner as such work requireth and as to a king's work appertaineth." In the broad clerestory windows were ranged a series of Scriptural pictures in brilliant, sparkling colours: while the delicate diamond-shaped panes of aisles and chapels sparkled and gleamed with the varying kaleidoscopic effects of the small mosaics set in silver and stained with gold, bearing the picturesque Tudor emblems.

The Perpendicular glass employed was light and delicate in effect and accorded admirably with the ornate architecture and graceful ornament of the chapel. English glass of the sixteenth century is considered by Vasari to rank with the very choicest at that time produced. The leading on the outside and within was made very

strong, according to the written agreement.

So rich and excellent did the windows of this new chapel appear that they were imitated for the splendid windows of King's College chapel, Cambridge, in process of completion at the same time, "the finest series of picture-like windows in the country,"* which still remain in excellent condition, though not all are of the same date. The Indenture for their construction is worded in much the same language as the contract for the glass of Henry VII's chapel. The executors were nearly the same and no doubt some, if not all, of the same glaziers were employed in each chapel. The King's College windows, like these, had five lights with traceried heads and in the use of emblems and devices they would naturally employ those of their greatest benefactors. For these reasons, the glass of Henry VII's chapel having almost entirely disappeared, our best idea of its windows is to be obtained by studying those of the chapel of King's College.

The date of the Westminster glass may be estimated as 1509-1516, from the fact that the Will, dated April, 1509, contains directions for making the windows, not yet

*Westlake.

begun, though, as we have seen, pictures of their subjects had been delivered to Prior Bolton, and from the fact that the King's College windows, which were to imitate them, were not begun until 1516.

The subjects are of peculiar interest because they seem to have been the composition of the king himself.*

Among the subjects of the storied windows at Westminster which were copied in the Cambridge chapel are The Tempta-

*That he was of a religious mind is evidenced in numberless incidents of his life. His mother, the Lady Margaret, was renowned for her sincere piety, and unusual devotion to the church and its services; and so long as he remained in her care, he would naturally be educated to reverence for religious observance and holy living. Later, while in exile in Brittany, his life threatened by Edward IV, doubtful of his future, his thoughts turned to the religious life and in the convent of St. Malo where he sought sanctuary, he prepared himself by study and devotions to take holy orders. For the church (and eventually, the Archbishopric of Canterbury), he educated and intended his second son, who became Henry VIII, the death of the older brother leaving him heir to the throne. Immediately after the victory at Bosworth Field, "as one that had been bred under a devout mother," he knelt on the battlefield and thanked God for his success and then caused the Te Deum to be solemnly sung in the presence of the entire army. Shakespeare records the royal prayer

> "To thee I do commend my watchful soul
> Ere I let fall the windows of mine eyes,
> Sleeping and waking, oh, defend me still."
>
> (Richard II.)

To suppose that Bernard Flower or any other glazier, however skilful in the manufacture or put-

tion of Eve, with The Annunciation: Moses and the Burning Bush, with The Nativity: Elisha Raising the Widow's Son, and The Raising of Lazarus: The Manna and The Last Supper: Solomon Crowned and Christ Crowned With Thorns: Joseph in the Pit and The Entombment of Christ. The texts on the scrolls borne by the Messengers in the central lights of the windows included, for Christ Entombed, "*Posuit illud in monumento suo novo*": for Job sorely vexed by Satan, "*Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit: sit nomen Domini bene-*

ting together of glass windows, possessed knowledge sufficient to prepare the series of types and antitypes represented in the pictured windows, or their Latin mottoes, is hardly possible. York's glowing east window was wrought in its richness, by one John of Coventry, as the records reveal: but assuredly the profound knowledge of Old and New Testament history which these windows suggest must have been that of some churchman of the minster. The Bible was not then in the hands of the common people, for printing was scarcely known. The same would be true of the pictured windows of Canterbury with their Latin mottoes and names; and for scores of other windows throughout the country. Moreover, the Will distinctly says of the subjects of the cartoons delivered to the Master of the Works of the chapel, "by us already devised."

The general subject of Henry VII's windows was The Old Law and the New, and the pictures represented Old Testament types with New Testament fulfillment of the same. They were arranged in a series, having two historical pictures below the transom of each window representing types of the two pictures from the New Testament above the transom, occupying four of the five lights of each window. The Central light of each window con-

dictum." There are twenty-six windows in all and they occupy more than half of the entire wall space.

The glass which was intended for the West window of Henry VII's chapel may now be seen in the east window of St. Margaret's church, near the north entrance of the Abbey. Different accounts are given as to its history. It is said to have been presented to Henry VII by the town of Dordrecht: or else it was ordered by the King and Queen of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, for presentation to the Eng-

tained four figures called Messengers, two of which were prophets representing the Old Testament: and two were angels, representing the New Testament, each bearing a scroll inscribed with a text or motto relating to the scenes in the storied lights. The East window contained a Crucifixion. The tracery of the large windows and all the panes of the small windows were filled with heraldic emblems, badges, cognizances, devices and arms, chiefly of Henry VII.

The indenture or Contract for the King's College chapel distinctly says that all is to be of good, clean, sure and perfect glass and "oryent colours and imagery of the story of the Old Law and of the New Law after the forme, maner, goodness, curiosytie and clendyness (?) in every point of the glasse windows of the King's new chapel at Westminster." The price paid was eighteen pence sterling for every foot of glass, and the windows to be provided, as at Westminster, with double bonds of lead, "for defense of great wyndes and outragious wetherings."

The tracery contained the portcullis, roses of York, double Tudor roses, the initials H and E, for Henry VII and his queen: H. K., for Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon: the Prince of Wales feathers, etc., etc.

lish king on the approaching marriage of their daughter, Catherine of Aragon, to Prince Arthur, and was made at Gouda in Holland. The Prince died in 1502, before the cornerstone of this chapel was laid, and the bereaved father, perhaps not wishing for himself and his Queen so striking a reminder of their loss, presented the window to Waltham Abbey, whence, after a series of removals, it was purchased by St. Margaret's. The subject is a Crucifixion, with Prince Arthur and the Princess Catherine and their patron saints kneeling at the foot of the cross and Henry VII and his queen represented in the side lights.

The glazier of Henry VII's chapel windows, or at least one of them, was Bernard Flower, "the Kynge's glaysher": but at least two Flemish workmen are named as assisting him, which may account for the fact that these windows suggest the Flemish work in the Fairford windows. Of Bernard Flower we know, from his position as King's glazier, that he must have been the most skillful of his sort. We find that he began the King's College windows and had received two payments for the same: that he was probably working on these and the Henry VII windows at the same time: and that he

died before the King's College windows were finished, leaving a considerable quantity of glass ready for placing: and was succeeded by Galieno Hone, whose name does not suggest English birth but who came from Southwark. Others assisting in the windows were Richard Bowne of St. Clement Danes parish: Thomas Reeve of St. Sepulchre's: and James Nicholson of St. Thomas Spital in Southwark.*

What remains of the original glass of the Henry VII chapel? Of the long series of Scriptural stories filling the windows of the entire clerestory only a single solitary and much patched figure under a canopy now remains, and is placed in the east window of the main story of the eastern apsidal chapel. The robes are of rich ruby and sapphire: the canopy of silver enriched, after the Perpendicular manner, with yellow stain: the ground a dull green. The figure was long thought to be a representation of the King himself: but careful

*Portions only of Flower's known work now remain in King's College chapel. The tracery of the side windows is probably his and is earlier than the pictures below the tracery, and seems to have been completed first perhaps because the scaffolding was in position and the space more accessible. The entire north window over the north entrance is ascribed to Flower, and the entire series of storied windows was no doubt made by him.

investigation proves it to be the Prophet Jeremiah, one of the Messengers which were placed in each central light of the clerestory windows, here at Westminster, and like those which may be seen today at King's College. The canopy of silver glass with yellow stain is badly patched: a part of the scroll bearing the motto still surrounds the patched head. This and the earliest Messengers in King's College were undoubtedly the work of Bernard Flower.*

Of the glass in the aisles of Henry VII's chapel, also of that in the apsidal chapels and the tracery at least of the west window, we have sufficient remaining to indicate its general design. The aisle and chapel windows were glazed with lozenge-shaped quarries, ornamented with the various Tudor emblems. Ruby, sapphire, amber and a fine green are prominent among the colours, but are used in small pieces producing the effect of glass mosaic.

The Fate of the Glass. So completely have all traces of the storied windows of this chapel disappeared from view that

*The windows of the College were preserved from injury during the Civil War by paying six shillings eightpence to Dowsing, the destroyer of stained glass for the Puritans. Willis and Clarke's Cambridge. 1:511. The east window of St. Margaret's church, Westminster, was taken down and concealed at this time.

curiosity is at once aroused as to their fate. It is difficult to believe that Cromwell could have been responsible for the destruction of this beautiful ornament of the chapel which he intended for the final resting-place of himself, his family and his companions in arms. The few statues removed from the series of sculptured images running around the interior were not rudely broken off and only here and there was one removed. In nearly every series of rich windows which were destroyed in the Civil War, there remains some record of the deed in the local histories, or some traces in canopy, pedestal, motto or fragment of blazing glass to suggest what has been: or else such fragments have been collected, as in the east windows of Canterbury, and as at Exeter, and replaced, in some fashion, to enchant us by their beauty of colour, though the design may have been lost sight of: or these fragments are being carefully treasured by the church guardians and reserved for future use. But no trace of such remains now exist at Westminster, save the one lone Messenger under his silver canopy in the east window.

A conclusion which to me seems not unlikely is that, like the windows of Herkenrode Abbey, now at Lichfield

cathedral, these of Westminster were carefully removed during the great period of danger for painted glass and imagery, by their natural guardians (Dean Williams or some other lover of the Abbey, or even by order of Cromwell himself), and concealed, perhaps buried away out of sight until times of peace should return. In this way were the fragments of shrines preserved, as those of St. Alban and St. Amphibalus: of St. Frideswide at Oxford and of St. Thomas of Hereford: and little by little, as the various portions were brought to light, fitted together and replaced in their original position. It might easily happen that in this and countless other instances, those who were responsible for such loyal preservation of the church's treasures passed away, leaving the place of concealment unknown to any of the living.

The natural guardian of the fabric of Westminster Abbey during the Civil War was the militant, vigorous, far-sighted Welshman, Dean Williams, a man so able that he had held numerous prominent offices in state and church, had been Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Dean of Salisbury, Bishop of Lincoln, and Archbishop of York, a brilliant, handsome dean. He was at once liberal in his benefactions to the

Abbey, zealous in repairing its seriously damaged portions and in procuring "the sweetest music both for the organ and for the voices (a true Welshman in this love of music), that was ever heard in an English choir," and repaired and set up a goodly library. The noble windows would have been dear to this dean.

The general order of Cromwell's Parliament for the levelling of altar steps and destroying "superstitious images" in Westminster Abbey was not issued until 1643. But in 1640 a violent mob made its way to the Abbey shouting, "Let us pluck down the organ! Let us deface the monuments!" News of this was carried with all speed to Dean Williams, whose hot Welsh blood was roused and he remembered that he was the guardian of the Royal Regalia as well as of the Abbey. He at once ordered the doors to be made fast* and when the mob would have forced them open "they were beaten off with stones from the top of the roof: the Dean all the while maintaining the Abbey in his own person, with a few more, for fear they should seize upon the Regalia, which were in that place under his custody. The spight of the Mutineers was most against him: yet his followers could not entreat

*Hacket's Life of Williams.

DEAN WILLIAMS

From an engraving by Jacob Houbraken.

him to go aside, but he stood to it. After an hour's dispute, when the multitude had been well pelted from aloft, a few of the Dean's train opened a door and rushed out with swords drawn and drove them before them like fearful Hares."

In the diary of Will Dowsing, the glass and image breaker of the Puritans, there is an entry for December 26, 1643 (Dean Williams had by this time gone on to the Archbishopric of York), that altar steps were to be levelled and one thousand superstitious pictures (presumably in the windows), were to be destroyed. This was not done, however, in the case of the windows, at least the windows themselves bear no trace of such rough usage and there is a tradition that all the glass was taken out and buried in the course of a single night. Of its subsequent fate we have no further record. As to that in Henry VII's chapel, Neale says that much of the glass was broken or else removed while the chapel was in a neglected condition before the repairs of the early nineteenth century.

The Altar. When the chapel was completed it contained nine altars, including the high altar, that in the founder's chantry, and those in the side aisles and apsidal chapels. The present altar replaces

a very beautiful, exquisitely wrought though small structure of fine Renaissance work made by Torregiano, which is sometimes, but incorrectly, called the tomb of Edward VI, since he was buried beneath it. It consisted of a rich black marble table six feet long and three feet four inches wide, resting on sixteen gilded bronze balusters. At the angles, forming additional support to the heavy table, were four rectangular posts of white marble, delicately carved in Renaissance patterns, intermingled with Tudor emblems. A large relief of the Resurrection was carved on the front of the re-table and The Nativity at the back. An ample white marble canopy ornamented with gilt bronze, rose over this rich little altar, supported at the angles by pillars of gilt bronze having carved capitals and richly carved triple bases of black and white marble and gilt bronze. On top of the carved cornice stood, in the centre, the royal arms, crowned, with the supporters of Henry VII, the lion and the dragon: and on either side were kneeling angels, one upholding a tall cross, the other a column (of scourging) crowned by a cock, Emblems of the Passion.

Torregiano had been engaged to make the altar after finishing the tombs, before

he should return to Florence: but very little if anything seems to have been accomplished until late in 1519 or 1520, when he returned from Italy, bringing with him three assistants, one a sculptor and one a painter, and the altar was probably then completed.*

"The matchless altar," as it was called, was torn down in 1643, during the Civil War, by Sir Robert Harrow, on account of the "superstitious images" it contained and it was "broken into shivers." This was almost the only injury inflicted on the chapel at that period and all trace of the beautiful fragments was lost until a comparatively recent date when two of the marble rectangular posts at the angles of the altar table were found by Dean Stanley beneath the pavement, hidden away in Edward VI's vault. A similar portion, probably of the white marble frieze, was found preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford and was presented by the University to the Abbey.

The present altar, made up of fragments, was put together by Dean Stanley and has an interesting history. It consists of a rich, modern black marble slab,

*It is said that Torregiano vainly endeavoured to bring with him Benvenuto Cellini, but the latter went to Michael Angelo at Rome instead.

the gift of Dean Stanley, within which are inserted three fragments: a piece of stone from an Abyssinian altar, brought from Magdala in 1868: a mosaic from the Greek church at Damascus, destroyed during the massacre of Christians in 1860: and a piece of jasper from the old Norman high altar at Canterbury, destroyed by fire in 1174.

The two original white marble posts exquisitely wrought with Renaissance designs, rose sprays, *fleur-de-lis,* and portcullis, are used as supports to the table: and the ornamental carving has been compared to that of Benedetto de Rovessango, in the church of St. Trinità at Florence.* The carved portion, probably of the frieze of Torregiano's altar, is inserted in the re-table. The whole is protected by cords suspended from metal supports. The modern inscription in Latin is translated: "In place of the ancient altar destroyed in the civil wars, to the honour of God and in pious memory of Edward VI, who is buried beneath, this holy table, in a gentler age, was placed by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster, 1870."

At this table the Revisers of the Bible came to receive the communion when their

*Higgins' Florentine Sculptors in England.

task in the Jerusalem Chamber was finished.

The pavement, presented by a prebendary, is thickly dotted with stones bearing the names of those who rest beneath, the greater part being the result of Dean Stanley's constant and unwearied efforts to discover, identify and mark the tombs of all those accounted worthy of a place of burial in this beautiful historical chapel.

The Stalls, in two long, richly carved ranges on either side of the main aisle of the chapel, with their pinnacled canopies and elaborately carved ornament, the dull gleam of copper plates emblazoned with armorial bearings tacked to their walls, and the double row of rich new banners of the very new Knights of the Bath silently waving now and then to a faint passing breath of air, and the curious, often grotesque, crests and long hanging mantlings of the knights crowning each canopy, form a very interesting and almost weird decorative feature of the chapel and add very materially to the general appearance of the interior. They appear delicate and fragile, thus harmonizing well with the ornate and graceful character of the architecture and ornament: a reedlike effect is produced in the carved mass by

the multiplicity of small carved and twisted rods or slender pillars.

The stalls are chiefly of the Perpendicular style and date, as old as the chapel, but their design is far from being usual in England: indeed, I have found nothing like them in English cathedrals. No two canopies are precisely alike and in other respects the design is greatly varied. They were undoubtedly complete in 1509, when the King died and he must have seen them in all the freshness of their first beauty: but Time has dealt very gently with the fragile carvings and today they are scarcely less beautiful than when first from the hands of the maker.

One on either side at the west end is considerably larger than the others. That on the south side is intended for the Dean of Westminster, who is Dean of the Order of the Bath. Over this stall once hung a banner, larger than the others, embroidered with the arms of England as borne by George I. The corresponding stall on the north side had a similar banner bearing the arms of Prince Frederick, grandson of George I, buried near by. This stall bears a helmet and a royal crown. At the front of the north stall, forming the poppy-head for the newel post to the little stair leading to the upper

range of stalls, there is a small wooden figure of Henry VII, robed and crowned, his mantle tied with a long cord and tassels. The cresting of these two western stalls is very delicate.

Originally the stalls occupied only the three westmost bays, leaving the eastern bay open to the north and south aisles of the chapel: but when more stalls were needed for the Knights of the Bath, new ones were cleverly devised by cutting some of the old ones in half (they had the same design at front and back), and using the carved backs thus set free to form the fronts of new stalls for the east bay. Only four of the stalls on each side have now a carved back, as may be seen from the side aisles.

Reading-desks are found only in the upper range, and are supported by panelled wainscoting having open traceried arches with traceried soffits, some of which are ornamented with the Tudor emblems. In the quatrefoils at the base of the side panels of the main stalls are enrichments of roses and foliage, a castle and a pomegranate, the latter no doubt here as elsewhere used in compliment to the young Spanish bride, Catherine of Aragon, married to Prince Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII, but widowed in 1502.

The Knights of the Bath. Unusual interest attaches to these stalls because of their early connection with the Knights of the Bath. This order dates from the coronation of Richard II, the name being applied to certain knights created on this occasion to form the king's body guard in the royal procession from the Tower to Westminster Abbey. And since complete ablutions on the vigil of their knighting, indicating purity in thought and life and the setting aside of all that was mean and base, constituted a part of the ceremony by which a knight was created, the term Knights of the Bath came to be applied to them: but the term is probably no older than the time of Henry V.*

This chapel was first used for the Knights on the creation of Charles (afterward Charles I), Prince of Wales, at

*The ceremony of creating these knights originally occupied three days. On the first day, some nobleman of dignity placed a golden spur on the right foot of each noviate knight, to indicate his title to the honor of knighthood. On this day, also, the knights assumed the costume of some religious order: and the night following they were to receive the bath and take oath "Never to sit in a place where injustice should be done but they shall right it to the uttermost of their power," with other obligations of knight errantry. The appearance of these early knights preceding the king as he rode on to be crowned at Westminster "on their horses in admirable order," is described by a contemporary writer as so delightful "that all the spectators seemed to be inebriated with joy."

Charles (afterward Charles I), Prince of Wales, at Whitehall, in 1616, when twenty-six knights were created; they came here for evening prayers, and the next day in the same place had their oaths given them.

The Order was revived in 1725, in the time of George I, by Sir Robert Walpole: the witty Prime Minister said "as a means of resisting the constant applications for the Order of the Garter," and at that time the Dean of Westminster was made the perpetual Dean of the Order. In the time of James I, the knights were younger sons or brothers of peers, some representatives of ancient English families, and several were natives of Scotland. At the revival of the Order the number of knights was restricted to thirty-six.

The costume as displayed in pictures of the installation of 1812 is most brilliant. The knights in robes of crimson and white satin, with long scarlet cloaks, black velvet hats with white ostrich plumes at the side (for this occasion there were twenty plumes on each hat, but three is the usual number) presented a splendid appearance. The youthful esquires, richly dressed, stand in front of their stalls. His Royal Highness, the Duke of York, officiated as Grand Master. The white

robes of the clergy added an effective note. Groups of the newly-made barons and of spectators added beauty of colour, and over all was spread the rich, lacelike tracery of the loveliest ceiling in all England.

Each knight had three esquires. At the last installation in this chapel, in 1812, the place of each knight was designated by a copper plate, nine by six and one-half inches, emblazoned with his arms: the esquires sat in the seats below, next the pavement. Over each stall the knight's banner was hung, the last banners being those now* in position, tattered, faded and worn. The crest of each knight, resting on what is called a show-helmet, crowns the canopy of his stall, and spread underneath each crest is the knight's mantling, which terminates in two heavy, brushlike tassels which hang down on the sides of the canopy and are heavy with the dust of years, of which it is not now safe to deprive them. In front of the canopy is fastened the knight's sword.

The Misericords are richly carved in a great variety of designs. Those in the

*But the Order has lately been revived. Forty-six knights were here installed, with splendid ceremony, July 22, 1913, and bright new banners replace those long familiar to Abbey visitors.

North side is frequently upturned to disclose a very interesting representation of The Judgment of Solomon. The story is told in three scenes. In the central one, the king is on his throne surrounded by courtiers: the dead child is at his feet and the two mothers stand by: one of the courtiers carelessly holds the live child by the feet. In one of the side scenes, a woman and a child are sleeping in a bed and another woman, bearing a dead child, is stealing in to exchange it for the living child. In the other side scene, both women are trying to get possession of the living child. This is one of the best of the entire series of misericords. The carving is bold and spirited: the story is told with the vivid effect of a rich engraving: the little figures are still excellent, though four centuries old.

There is also a thirteenth century misericord, probably from Henry III's Lady chapel, which is usually upturned for the benefit of visitors. It is a conventional foliage design, rather crudely treated.

The stalls of the lower range have misericords chiefly of foliage and animals with a few groups, and are less worth study than those of the upper range. On the North side, beginning at the west end, the first represents two wild,

bearded men (called wodehouses), one wearing a large hat, and apparently fighting in the woods: the supports are conventional foliage. In the second is a representation of David and Goliath, the latter with sling and stone advancing to meet the giant with spear and sword. At the sides are a castle and figures looking over the wall, and a rabbit warren from which little creatures are peeping out as if in fear. The fourth is a well wrought shield of the royal arms of France and England surmounted by a rich crown: a beautiful undercut vine appears at the back: on the right, a spray of bursting pomegranates and leaves terminating in a circlet of foliage: on the left, a beautiful double rose in the centre of a circlet and a rose spray above.

The small poppyheads of the bench arms at this point, where steps lead up to the higher stalls are interesting little wooden figures, one headless and kneeling bears a label: the other has a shiny wooden head much worn by the hands of generations of worshippers in these stalls. The fifth, sixth and seventh misericords beyond are of foliage. The eighth is interesting and represents a woodland scene with beautiful foliage, and two round-faced men, one clasping the branch of a

tree, wears a curious little round cap, a turned-over collar, and his belt or sash is tied in a knot. The left figure has longer robes and his hands are clasped. Flowers and oak foliage are the supports. The ninth is excellent but much broken. Horned creatures in the centre are looking away from each other, perhaps caught in the thicket. The fourteenth is a phœnix rising from the flames: the sixteenth an excellent foliage design.

On the South side, all the misericords so far as the twelfth are modern. In the thirteenth, a man seems to be warming himself at a fire and at the sides two chubby boys are playing, one astride a cock-horse. In the fourteenth, two wild men are fighting, one shoots an arrow at the other, who defends himself with a shield. In the sixteenth a man holds a ball of yarn which he has apparently been winding from a frame at the side, and kneels before a woman, who is beating him.

End of Volume I.

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